# *'Moments of Vision'*

## THE LIFE AND WORK OF THOMAS HARDY

Map of the
WESSEX
of the
Novels and Poems
Scale of Miles
Fictitious names as
Exonbury
Real names as
Portsmouth
Septentrio
Occidens
Oriens
Meridies
Cliff without name
Targan Bay
Duddagiel
Barbrith Strand
Endelstow
Castle Boterel
St Launce's
Plymouth
Lands End
Christminster
Lumsdon
R. Thames
NORTH
WESSEX
Alfredston
The Brown House
Cressconbe
Marygreen
River Thames
MID
Marlbury
Downs
Castle
Royal
Aldbrickham
Gaymead
Kennetbridge
Bristol
Bath
Channel
Mendip Hills
Falls Park
WESSEX
The Great
Plain
Stonehenge
Inkpen Beacon
Stoke Barehills
Quartershot
Weydon
Priors
Icenway
House
Prospect
Hotel
Bristol
Clifton
Exon Moor
Cliff
Martin
Dunkery
Beacon
Quantock
Hills
Will's Neck
Glaston
Fountall
Stour Head
Melchester
Wintoncester
Fernel Hall
Deanesleigh
Park
WESSEX
Downstaple
Toneborough
Deane
River
Toneborough
Ivell
Sherton
Abbas
Vale of Blackmore
The Chase
The Slopes
Chaseborough
Shaston
Marlott
Wingreen
Shottsford
Forum
Southampton
Portsmouth
Solentsea
LOWER
WESSEX
SOUTH
WESSEX
Emminster
Bulbarrow
Buntcombe
Warborne
Pilsdon
Exonbury
River Otter
River Axe
Casterbridge
Deadmans
Bay
Budmouth
Sandbourne
The
Island
Isle of Slingers
Lightship
The Race
The Channel
Emery Walker sc.

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# *'Moments of Vision'*

## The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy

Exhibition and Catalogue by Debra Dearlove,
with Contributions by Keith Wilson and Deborah Whiteman,
and a Biographical Introduction by Michael Millgate.

THE THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

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*In memory of David J. Holmes*

*(1945–2016)*

*Bookseller, friend, and fellow Hardyan.*

**Table of Contents**


Foreword 4

Curatorial Introduction 5

Thomas Hardy: A Biographical Overview 6

Early Life 15

Career as a Novelist 22

'Wives All' 36

'A Changed Man': Poetry & Short Stories 44

'Hardy on Stage' 51

Max Gate 58

Later Years 66

'Don't Judge A Book By Its Cover' 73

'Wessexmania and Mr. Hardy' 76

After Hardy: Adaptations & Interpretations 82

## Foreword

Thomas Hardy (1840–1928) is one of the most important and influential writers in English literary history. Universally recognized both as a major novelist and a major poet, Hardy and his work continue to generate interest today. *'Moments of Vision': The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy* by Debra Dearlove, with contributions by Keith Wilson, Deborah Whiteman, and Michael Millgate, is a testament to Hardy's enduring genius. It is also a tribute to an expert collector.

The basis for this exhibition and accompanying catalogue is the superb Millgate Thomas Hardy Collection, gifted to the Library by Jane and Michael Millgate in 2012 and in 2013. The collection was assembled by Michael Millgate over forty-five years. As the editor of the Hardy letters, the definitive Hardy biography, and numerous other Hardy-related scholarly works, Professor Millgate, now Professor Emeritus at the University of Toronto, is a pre-eminent Hardy scholar and his collection is reflective of his commitment to Hardy studies. Indeed, prior to its donation, the Millgate Hardy collection was acknowledged as the largest and most comprehensive Hardy collection outside of a public institution.

In *'Moments of Vision': The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy*, curator Debra Dearlove has created a fascinating exhibition that is as broad in range and rich in content as is the magnificent Millgate Hardy collection. This exhibition includes first editions, correspondence, manuscripts, photographs, and ephemera illustrating Hardy's professional and personal life. It spans Hardy's early years, poetry, novels, plays, wives, circle of friends, and contemporaries, as well as posthumous recent adaptations of his works. Such a thorough analysis considerably broadens our understanding of the life, work, and continuing relevance of Thomas Hardy. The resulting exhibition is a compelling representation of Hardy's entire oeuvre that appeals to the Hardyan and non-Hardyan alike.

I wish to thank Debra Dearlove for this remarkable exhibition and catalogue. It is also a pleasure and a privilege to acknowledge the support of the Friends of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library for this exhibition and an anonymous donor for this catalogue. And above all, we are most grateful to Jane and Michael Millgate for such an exceptional collection.

Loryl MacDonald
Interim Director
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto

## Curatorial Introduction

The inspiration for this exhibition was the donation by Professor Michael Millgate (University Professor Emeritus, University of Toronto) of his magnificent Thomas Hardy collection, one of the finest amassed by a private collector, to the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library. With this acquisition, along with Professor Millgate's working papers, the Fisher Library is now a leading Hardy repository. Formed over a period of nearly fifty years, the collection contains an exceptional depth and breadth of material, including letters, manuscripts, association copies, first editions of all of Hardy's novels and collections of verse, serial publications, volumes from Hardy's own library, and a significant amount of material relating to his wives, his circle, and his Wessex (Dorset) homeland.

This collection is a remarkable achievement of a scholar-collector, displaying the knowledge of a scholar combined with the astuteness of a sophisticated collector. Professor Millgate's contributions over his forty-five year career as a Hardy scholar are unparalleled. His extensive critical and editorial work on Hardy includes, among much else, *Thomas Hardy: His Career as a Novelist* (1971), the eight-volume *Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy* (co-edited by Richard L. Purdy and Keith Wilson), and *Thomas Hardy: A Biography Revisited* (2004), regarded as the most authoritative life of Hardy. As Professor Keith Wilson has noted in his introduction to *Thomas Hardy Reappraised: Essays in Honour of Michael Millgate* (2006), 'Michael Millgate has produced scholarship of a transformative kind, providing the firm historical and biographical ground on which his fellow Hardy scholars now stand at the same time as making his findings accessible to the worldwide community of non-academic Hardy enthusiasts'.

The exhibition's title, *Moments of Vision: The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy*, reflects both the scope of the collection and the range of Professor Millgate's scholarly work. 'Moments of Vision', which is the title of one of Hardy's poems and of a volume of verse published in 1917, is also the phrase that Virginia Woolf believed 'exactly describes those passages of astonishing beauty and force which are to be found in every book that he wrote'. With this in mind, we have allowed Hardy himself to speak by quoting selections from his letters and from his autobiography, *Life and Work*. Many of our section titles and preliminary quotations are also taken from Hardy, or the work of Hardy scholars. With material drawn primarily from the Millgate Collection, the exhibition documents Hardy's career as a novelist and poet, his personal relationships, and the enduring interest and popularity of his writings.

This exhibition would not have been possible without the assistance of several people. I am grateful to my co-curator, Deborah Whiteman, for her assistance with the selection of material for this exhibition, and to both her and Professor Keith Wilson for their contributions to the catalogue. I would like to thank the staff at the Fisher Library: Loryl MacDonald for her support and Foreword to the catalogue; P.J. Carefoote and Philip Oldfield for their editorial assistance; and Linda Joy for her innovative mounting of the exhibition. The superb imaging for both the catalogue and the exhibition is the result of the careful work of Maureen Morin and Paul Armstrong of the UTL staff. I would like to thank the people at various institutions who provided images, particularly Helen Gibson and George Wickham at the Dorset County Museum. I appreciate the assistance of Halina Pashkievich and Marie Korey throughout this process. Thanks also to Stan Bevington of Coach House Press for his care with the design and printing of the catalogue. My deepest thanks go to my partner, David Mason, for the support, patience, and understanding he has shown through all the demands this exhibition placed on my time and attention. Finally, my gratitude to Michael Millgate for his support, editorial advice, and friendship is immeasurable. It has been both a privilege and a joy to work with his extraordinary Thomas Hardy collection.

Debra Dearlove

## Thomas Hardy: A Biographical Overview

Thomas Hardy was born on 2 June 1840 in the Dorset hamlet of Higher Bockhampton, located in the parish of Stinsford just to the north-east of Dorchester, the county town. He was his parents' first child, arriving rather more than six months after their marriage on 22 December 1839. His father, Thomas Hardy senior, was a stonemason and jobbing builder whose own father, yet another Thomas Hardy, had at the turn of the century built the family cottage in an isolated situation at the end of the hamlet's single street and on the very edge of open heath. His mother, born Jemima Hand, had known much hardship as a child in the north Dorset village of Melbury Osmund and money was still short during the early years of the marriage, Thomas Hardy senior's temperament rendering him an unaggressive tradesman. But Jemima Hardy's resourcefulness brought the family through its difficulties to increasingly better times. There would be three more children: Mary (1841–1915), much the closest to Hardy in age and sympathies, Henry (1851–1928), and Katharine, usually known as Kate (1856–1940). Mary and Kate became schoolteachers, Henry succeeded his father in the family building business, and all remained unmarried.

### Early Years

Hardy himself said that he was almost given up for dead at his birth, and he remained small and delicate throughout his childhood. Kept protectively at home in his earliest years, he spent much time with his mother and his sister Mary, becoming intensely familiar with his immediate surroundings of heath and woodland. He absorbed local folklore and traditional music as well as the oral history of Stinsford. Much of his writing derived directly from childhood experience, as did his lifelong fascination with the world his parents and grandparents had known. In *Under the Greenwood Tree*, for example, he memorialised the disbandment, around the time of his own birth, of the Stinsford church 'quire', in which his father and grandfather had been leading instrumentalists. Hardy himself played the violin from an early age and occasionally went with his father to provide music at local dances and parties. Music remained important to him throughout his life and his particular attachment to the music and rituals of the Church of England was undiminished by his eventual agnosticism.

Hardy had no regular schooling until September 1848, when he presented himself early on the opening day of the new National (i.e., Church of England) school in Lower Bockhampton. He had already attracted the affectionate attentions of the school's principal founder, Julia Augusta Martin, wife of the owner of Kingston Maurward House and effectively (though not technically) lady of the manor. Jemima Hardy, however, strongly disapproved of the relationship, some element of class-antagonism doubtless reinforcing her natural possessiveness. She took her son out of the school in the autumn of 1849 so that he could accompany her to Hatfield on an extended visit to her younger sister Martha Sharpe, and in September 1850 she sent him to the Dorchester British School, an elementary school run on Nonconformist principles. Mrs Martin, taking offence on both religious and personal grounds, is said to have ensured that Hardy's father did no further work for the Kingston Maurward estate.

Still not strong, Hardy was sometimes exhausted by his daily walk of three miles in each direction between Higher Bockhampton and Dorchester. But the school itself was well suited to his needs, and he remained with its able headmaster, Isaac Glandfield Last, when Last set up his own 'commercial academy' in Dorchester in 1853. Its curriculum emphasised mathematics and mechanics, but Hardy was reading widely by this time, even acquiring a few books of his own, and his parents paid for him to take Latin as an extra. At some point he began – perhaps with the help of Horace Moule, classicist son of the evangelical Vicar of Fordington – to work at Greek, apparently with the ambition of going to university, taking orders, obtaining a curacy in a country parish, and devoting himself to the writing of verse.

His parents had more immediately practical plans for him. They had long recognised that he was insufficiently robust to succeed his father as stonemason and builder, but his cleverness at school suggested that he might find a route into the middle class by pursuing

an architectural career. In 1856, therefore, Hardy was apprenticed to John Hicks, an architect whose office in South Street, Dorchester, was next door to the school kept by the Revd William Barnes, the Dorset dialect poet. Hicks seems to have provided his apprentices with an excellent technical grounding, and because the practice specialised in ecclesiastical work Hardy was able to develop his skills as a draughtsman even as he broadened his knowledge of the churches and landscape of west Dorset. He kept up meanwhile his study of Latin and Greek, taught Sunday School at Stinsford Church from time to time, and seems to have found his way, at least indirectly, into print: he later claimed not only to have supplied technical information to the *Dorset County Chronicle* reporter assigned to cover the rededication ceremonies of churches Hicks had repaired but also to have tricked the same newspaper into printing a humorous squib of his own.

### In London

Hardy stayed with Hicks for a time after completing his apprenticeship, but in April 1862, shortly before his twenty-second birthday, he set off for London – a move primarily economic in motivation but perhaps influenced in its timing by an emotional or religious crisis of some kind. His first lodgings were in Kilburn, then on the outskirts of the city, but from the spring of 1863 he rented a room at 16 Westbourne Park Villas, close to Paddington Station, the main terminus for the Dorchester trains. He quickly found employment with one of London's busiest architects, Arthur William Blomfield. Hardy worked diligently at his profession, was soon elected to the recently established Architectural Association, and in 1863 won both an Association prize for the design of a country mansion and the Silver Medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects for an essay on the use of coloured bricks and terra cotta in architecture. Letters Hardy wrote from London to his sister Mary in the early 1860s vividly testify, as do the pages devoted to this period in his autobiographical *Life*, to his sense of excitement as he watched the processes of urban growth and change, went to plays and operas, visited galleries and museums, and attended different churches.

Hardy in fact lost his religious faith during the 1860s and eventually abandoned his dreams of university and ordination. Journalism seemed for a time an alternative means of subsidizing a devotion to literature, and his preparations for such a career included evening classes in French, study of shorthand and art history, and the writing of compositional exercises suggested by Horace Moule. A humorous prose sketch entitled 'How I Built Myself a House' was published by *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* in March 1865, but instead of following up this success with other light pieces Hardy seems to have turned almost immediately to the cultivation of more serious literary ambitions, setting about the task of turning himself into a poet. The Dorset County Museum holds several dictionaries and volumes of poetry purchased in 1865, and the same date appears at the front of a rare surviving notebook, headed 'Studies, Specimens &c'. (published 1994), that gives some indication of the technical exercises by which he sought to acquire the basics of the poet's trade. No poems by him appeared in print in the 1860s, but many of those drafted then would be reworked for publication thirty, forty, fifty, and even sixty years later.

### Return to Dorset

The dirt and smoke of London were meanwhile damaging Hardy's health. In the summer of 1867 he returned to Higher Bockhampton, resuming his work as a country architect, first for Hicks and then for G. R. Crickmay, the Weymouth architect who took over the practice when Hicks died. Over the next few years Hardy worked on a number of decaying village churches, for some of which both the design and the on-site supervision seem to have been almost exclusively in his hands. He took satisfaction in this work but later accepted the view that church 'restoration' had too often been destructive of both the buildings and their centuries-old associations. By the late 1860s literary ambitions were drawing him away from architecture, although economic realism had by now caused him to put poetry aside and seek a career as a professional novelist.

His first novel, *The Poor Man and the Lady*, begun in the autumn of 1867, was submitted to Alexander Macmillan, the publisher, in late

July of 1868. Macmillan and his reader, John Morley, were both impressed by the energy of Hardy's writing but while Macmillan wrote sympathetically to Hardy about his manuscript he finally declined to publish a book so openly hostile towards the upper classes. George Meredith, reading the manuscript for another publisher, Chapman and Hall, was also deterred by what Hardy himself later called the 'socialistic' aspects of the book and recommended the young author to begin his career with a novel written along more conventional lines. Hardy's response, influenced by the example of Wilkie Collins, took the form of a 'sensation' novel called *Desperate Remedies*, published – anonymously and on a shared-cost basis – by Tinsley Brothers in 1871. Praised in the *Athenaeum* and the *Morning Post*, its fate was chiefly determined by the contemptuous condemnation it received in the *Spectator*, and Hardy forfeited a significant portion of the £75 he had contributed towards its publication. Tinsley nevertheless brought out another book of his in 1872, again anonymously but without a publication subsidy. This was *Under the Greenwood Tree*, the brief, richly humorous idyll, subtitled 'A Rural Painting of the Dutch School', that Hardy had partially quarried from the abandoned manuscript of *The Poor Man and the Lady*.

## Love, Courtship, and Marriage

Hardy returned to London early in 1872, in response to an invitation from the prominent architect T. Roger Smith, but was under increasing pressure to decide whether writing should become a full-time career. Two factors determined the choice he finally made in the summer of 1872. One was the professional status implied in an invitation to write a full-length serial for *Tinsleys' Magazine*. The other was the enthusiastic support of Emma Lavinia Gifford, the woman to whom he was now engaged to be married. This was not Hardy's first affair of the heart. His responsiveness to female beauty and sexuality is richly evident from his fiction, and his poems and reminiscences are full of allusions to the real or fancied love-affairs of his youth. All previous emotional involvements, however, were eclipsed by a romantic encounter in a tiny Cornish hamlet on 7 March 1870 – the date to which Hardy's desk calendar was in his last years permanently set. He had been asked by Crickmay to inspect the badly decayed church of St Juliot. When he finally reached the Rectory after his long and tedious journey from Dorset he was greeted at the door by the vividly attractive Emma, whose older sister had recently married the elderly Rector, Caddell Holder, as his second wife. The daughter of a Plymouth solicitor, Emma had been brought up with middle-class assumptions and expectations, only to find herself, at the age of twenty-nine, living in rural isolation, unmarried, and with few resources or prospects. Hardy was flattered by Emma's class superiority and captivated by her social graces, flowing ringlets, and teasing flirtatiousness. His second visit to St Juliot in the summer of 1870 was probably the occasion of their becoming engaged.

They were rarely together during the four years that intervened before their actual marriage. But Emma's literary interests contributed significantly to her side of an active correspondence and to her endorsement of Hardy's decision, in the summer of 1872, to undertake the *Tinsleys' Magazine* serial and so embark upon a new career as a professional novelist. She also co-operated in the writing of the serial as it took shape as *A Pair of Blue Eyes* and evidently made no objection to Hardy's incorporation of episodes from their courtship or to his creation of a heroine whose appearance and personality bore striking similarities to her own. For Hardy the period was one of unexpected successes and equally unexpected disasters. Among the successes were the generally positive reviews of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* and the arrival of an invitation to write a serial for the *Cornhill Magazine*, a journal distinctly more prestigious and better-paying than *Tinsleys'*. The immediate disaster was the suicide in Cambridge in September 1873 of Horace Moule, his literary lodestar and dearest male friend. But also recognizable in retrospect were the foreboding shadows cast over his forthcoming marriage by the unconcealed hostility of Emma's intensely class-conscious father and by his own family's opposition to the idea of his marrying 'up'. The wedding itself – at the church of St Peter's, Paddington, on 17 September 1874 – was conducted by Emma's uncle, Dr Edwin Hamilton Gifford, later Archdeacon of London, but the Giffords were otherwise only minimally represented, the Hardys not at all.

## Professional Novelist

The other major event of 1874 was the unexpected popularity of *Far from the Madding Crowd*, the serial Hardy had written for the *Cornhill*, then under the editorship of Leslie Stephen. The interest aroused by its monthly serial appearances from January through December 1874 was reinforced by the generally positive reviews that greeted its publication in volumes in November 1874. This novel made Hardy famous for the first time, placing him immediately in the front rank of contemporary novelists. It also identified him with rural characters and settings and with the specific fictional region that he called Wessex, based very closely on the actual topography of his native Dorset and the counties adjacent to it. Wessex was introduced for the first time during the serialization of *Far from the Madding Crowd*, and Hardy can scarcely have envisaged the importance that it would eventually assume in his own work, let alone the mapped and visitable solidity it would attain in the popular imagination. Wessex is an ancient name, but its current acceptance as a regional designation is entirely attributable to its deployment in Hardy's work.

The Hardys' two-week honeymoon in Brighton, Rouen, and Paris was for both of them a first trip abroad. Upon their return to England they took rooms in a house called St David's Villa in the London suburb of Surbiton, but in March 1875 they moved closer into London, to 18 Newton Road in the Paddington area where Hardy had lived alone during the 1860s and again in the years immediately preceding his marriage. He was now writing *The Hand of Ethelberta* as a second serial for the *Cornhill* and profiting from Leslie Stephen's intellectual companionship and shrewd but not always sympathetic editorial advice. The shift to settings and characters predominantly urban probably reflected Hardy's desire to display his virtuosity as a professional novelist, and Stephen's disappointment in the directions the novel was taking may have influenced Hardy's decision to finish writing it in Dorset, he and Emma renting West End Cottage in the seaside resort of Swanage from July 1875 until the following spring.

Similar factors may have affected Hardy's decision to delay the start of his next book, apparently in order to take stock of his situation and reach some decisions as to the kinds of novel he wanted to write. He certainly purchased several books on philosophy and sociology in the mid–1870s and began to compile the notebooks, headed 'Literary Notes', in which he recorded quotations from, and notes upon, his current reading in such areas as philosophy, history, aesthetics, and literary criticism. These notebooks, kept up in some form almost to the end of his life, are reflective of the continuing autodidactic strain in his intellectual background and of his sensitivity to his lack of a university education.

The Hardys' departure from Swanage was followed by a brief house-hunting stay in Yeovil and a holiday in Holland, Germany, and Belgium, Hardy's already well-developed fascination with the Napoleonic period inevitably mandating a visit to the Waterloo battlefield. In June 1876 they moved to a semi-detached house situated on a bank overlooking the River Stour in the small north Dorset town of Sturminster Newton. Hardy later recalled Riverside Villa as 'their first house and, though small, probably that in which they spent their happiest days'. They settled quickly into the life of the town, and Hardy eagerly explored the surrounding area of the Vale of Blackmoor. When, however, he began work on his next novel, *The Return of the Native*, he chose as its setting the south Dorset heathlands he had known from his childhood. The likelihood that this choice was related to Hardy's personal situation is strengthened by his incorporation of many of his mother's characteristics into the representation of Mrs Yeobright. Jemima Hardy's continuing disapproval of her son's marriage may even be reflected in the disastrous consequences of Mrs Yeobright's hostility to her daughter-in-law.

Though rebuffed by the editors of more prestigious journals, Hardy eventually placed the serialization of *The Return of the Native* with *Belgravia*, a magazine specializing in 'sensation' fiction. By the time the first installment appeared in January 1878 he and Emma had decided to move back to London, his sense of the professional advantages of living in the metropolis chiming, for the time being, with her desire for a wider social world. They again chose a suburban location, and on 22 March 1878 spent their first night at 1 Arundel Terrace, Upper Tooting. It was not to prove a happy move. Hardy certainly took advantage of his nearness to London by joining the Savile Club and developing friendships with writers, editors, publishers,

and artists that would be important to him in subsequent years. The accessibility of the Reading Room of the British Museum greatly facilitated the researches into the Napoleonic period that he was undertaking in preparation for the composition of *The Trumpet-Major*, serialized in *Good Words* from January to December 1880 and published in volumes in late October 1880. But difficulties were developing in the Hardys' marriage and Tooting always remained in Hardy's memory as the place where 'their troubles began'. It was also here that Hardy suffered the serious illness – apparently originating in complications from a bladder infection – which kept him in bed, his feet raised higher than his head, for much of the autumn and winter of 1880–1881. The illness struck shortly after the beginning of the serialization of *A Laodicean* in *Harper's Monthly*, and it was only Emma's assistance as nurse and amanuensis that enabled him to submit installments and return proofs on schedule and so maintain his reputation for professional reliability.

This debilitating episode contributed significantly to the weakness of *A Laodicean* and to Hardy's association of London with ill-health and 'mechanical and ordinary productions from his pen'. He and Emma therefore decided to return once more to Dorset. In June 1881 they rented 'Lanherne', a small detached villa in The Avenue, Wimborne – an ancient east Dorset town that was still (like Sturminster Newton) well away from the vicinity of Hardy's family. They made new friends in Wimborne, joined a Shakespeare reading group, and participated in other local activities. Much of the summer of 1882 was devoted to the composition of the novel *Two on a Tower* for serialization in the American-based *Atlantic Monthly*. Once the final installment was sent off the Hardys took an extended holiday in Paris that Hardy later blamed for his failure to revise and strengthen the novel prior to its publication in volumes that October. The Hardys made a number of visits to London in May and June of 1883, and over many subsequent years they developed a regular pattern of renting a house or apartment during the London 'season'.

## The Return to Dorchester

No more than Sturminster Newton did Wimborne prove a permanent domiciliary solution, however, and in the summer of 1883 the Hardys moved finally to Dorchester itself, taking a rented house in Shire-Hall Lane while on the town's south-eastern outskirts Hardy's father and brother and their workmen built the red-brick villa that Hardy had himself designed and that he lived in from the summer of 1885 until the day of his death. The site was a plot of open downland that Hardy leased, and then purchased, from the Duchy of Cornwall – at some point changing its existing name, Loud's Gate, to Max Gate, in humorous deference to the Henry Mack who had for many years operated a nearby toll-gate. For Hardy the move had obvious creative advantages, returning him to the centre of the world he had known in childhood and youth that spoke directly to his already developed fascination with its history. His mature recognition of the centrality of Dorchester to Dorset's agricultural economy stimulated a reconception of Wessex both as a linking device for a series of distinct novels and as a means of writing authentically about the regional past. Shortly after arriving in Shire-hall Lane he began reading his way through local newspapers of the eighteen-twenties and -thirties in preparation for the writing of *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, in which Casterbridge itself would be transparently modelled upon early nineteenth-century Dorchester.

The move back to Dorchester was also purposive in social terms. Hardy promptly became an active member of the Dorset County Museum, involved himself in local politics as a supporter of the Liberal party, and was appointed a Justice of the Peace. Max Gate itself, though not a large house as originally built, clearly proclaimed its owner's aspirations to middle-class status by the way in which it sat securely and very visibly in its own grounds. Such aspirations, however, were slow to be recognized in a place where his humbler background was well known and where many of his relatives were still living working-class lives, and Emma in particular always felt insufficiently 'accepted' by local and 'county' society.

Despite his involvement in the building of his new house, Hardy managed to complete *The Mayor of Casterbridge* well before its first

serial installment appeared in the *Graphic* in January 1886. In order to meet the perceived demands of serialization in a popular magazine he understated sexual issues and introduced excessive narrative complications, which obliged him to engage in extensive revision ahead of publication of the two-volume edition in May of that year. The publisher's reader is said to have complained of a 'lack of gentry among the characters', and the novel, now regarded as one of Hardy's major achievements, did for some reason sell poorly at its first appearance and for a considerable time thereafter. Its successor, *The Woodlanders*, proved particularly hard to complete, perhaps because the plot line would not admit of any ending readers were likely to find pleasing, perhaps because its central character, Giles Winterborne, shared many characteristics with Hardy's father, and its setting was based on a part of Dorset intimately associated with Hardy's mother. By mid-March of 1887, however, just as *The Woodlanders* was being published, Hardy felt free to set off with Emma on an extended visit to Italy, most of their time being spent in Florence, Rome, and Venice.

Hardy had since the 1870s been publishing short stories in British and American magazines, and in 1888 he brought out *Wessex Tales*, a first collection of such stories. Another collection, *A Group of Noble Dames*, appeared in 1891, followed in 1894 by *Life's Little Ironies*, in 1914 by *A Changed Man and Other Tales*, and in 1992 by a final posthumous gathering of *The Excluded and Collaborative Stories* – among them the important 'An Indiscretion in the Life of an Heiress', first published in 1878 and drawn directly from *The Poor Man and the Lady*. The production and publication of such stories remained to the end of the nineteenth century an important element in Hardy's life and career, and although the stories themselves are of variable quality, several clearly deserve to be reckoned among his best work. His final decade, however, as a writer of prose fiction was distinguished above all by the production of two deeply compassionate and unmistakably major novels, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* and *Jude the Obscure*, published in 1891 and 1895 respectively. Both aroused opposition by the directness of their treatment of social issues and especially sexual relationships – portions of *Tess* were omitted prior to its serialization while the serial version of *Jude* was extensively bowdlerised – but together they served to bring Hardy to levels of both fame and notoriety that he had not previously known. Lionisation as 'the author of *Tess*' gave him access to London social circles still more rarefied than those he had previously frequented and brought him into contact with glamorous and intelligent women who eagerly sought his company. In the late 1880s he had first pursued and then, apparently, fled from the beautiful, provocative, but socially transgressive poet Rosamund Tomson (later known as Rosamund Marriott Watson). In the early 1890s, he fell seriously – and frustratingly – in love with the handsome but rigidly conventional Florence Henniker, daughter of Richard Monckton Milnes (Lord Houghton), wife of a senior army officer, and author of a number of novels and short story collections. In the mid-1890s he was attracted to another beautiful woman with literary interests and ambitions, (Lady) Agnes Grove, the daughter of General Augustus Pitt-Rivers, the archaeologist and anthropologist.

Different though these attachments were in kind and degree there can be no doubt that his long-cherished devotion to Florence Henniker constituted a profound emotional defection from his marriage. Emma's unpredictability of temper, eccentricities of manner and dress, and growing religiosity had become an irritant to Hardy at home and an embarrassment in public. Emma, for her part, continued to feel isolated in Dorchester, openly returned the unabated hostility of Hardy's family, and deeply resented the persistence with which Hardy himself took sides against her. The situation worsened with Emma's perception of both *Jude* and *The Well-Beloved* (serialized 1891, revised for book publication 1897) as attacks upon marriage and, by implication, upon herself. Although a veneer of domestic routine was maintained at Max Gate right up until the time of Emma's death, husband and wife in fact lived increasingly separate lives, Hardy secluding himself in his study for the better part of every day and Emma taking refuge in two attic rooms at the top of the house.

**Farewell to Prose**

In 1895–1897 the London-based but American-owned firm of Osgood, McIlvaine brought out the first collected edition of Hardy's novels and stories and thus provided him with a welcome opportunity to revise his texts, consolidate his matured conception of

his fictional region of Wessex, and write a series of retrospective prefaces. It was in certain respects a farewell performance, since he effected shortly afterwards his long-contemplated return from fiction to poetry. The hostility some critics had displayed towards his last three novels, especially *Jude the Obscure*, doubtless helped to precipitate his decision, but the principal determinants seem to have been the imminence of his sixtieth birthday and the enhanced economic security created by the success of *Tess*, the availability of American copyright protection, and the assurance of continuing royalties from the works already published. The contents of his first verse collection, *Wessex Poems*, published in 1898, showed that Hardy had not only gone back to revise some of the verses drafted in the 1860s but had also continued to be active as a poet during the decades publicly devoted to fiction. The result, as in several of his subsequent volumes of verse, was uneven and somewhat miscellaneous – an impression intensified in this instance by the inclusion of a series of interesting if distinctly idiosyncratic drawings by the poet himself. Most reviewers were respectful but puzzled, and there was a good deal of criticism of what was seen as the clumsiness of Hardy's technique and the provinciality of his language. There were no drawings in *Poems of the Past and the Present* (1901) or *Time's Laughingstocks* (1909) – nor, indeed, in any of the later verse collections – but Hardy's persistence in ranging so widely and inventively in his verse-forms and lexical choices continued to bemuse contemporary criticism. His sensitivity to this situation was reflected in his frequent insistence – in both public and private utterances – upon the superiority of his verse to his prose.

By the time *Wessex Poems* appeared, the firm of Osgood, McIlvaine had been absorbed into the New York house of Harper and Brothers, leaving Hardy with an American publisher for his British as well as his American publications. He felt dissatisfied with this situation and in 1902 transferred all British editions of his books, both prose and verse, to the house of Macmillan. It was a comfortable and mutually profitable relationship that lasted to the end of his life, and beyond. Macmillan published in 1912–1913 (with subsequent additions) the 'Wessex Edition' of the novels and poems, followed by the *de luxe* 'Mellstock Edition' of 1919–1920. Earlier the firm had brought out *Time's Laughingstocks* and, in 1904, 1906, and 1908, the three distinct 'parts' of *The Dynasts*, the ambitious verse-drama that was the end-product of Hardy's long-standing fascination with the Napoleonic Wars. *The Dynasts* met with a mixed critical reception, but its completion consolidated Hardy's reputation as the greatest British author of his day – it was in 1909 that he received the exceptional honour of appointment to the Order of Merit – and its national theme, reinforced by Harley Granville-Barker's stage production of 1914, gained it additional respect and relevance during the First World War and for a considerable period thereafter. It figured only marginally in the rise in Hardy's reputation as a poet that occurred during those years.

## Bereavement and Remarriage

The Hardys' marriage continued its undramatic deterioration during the Edwardian years. As Emma became more of an invalid and recluse they kept up only intermittently the pattern of renting London accommodation every spring. Hardy himself still spent a good deal of time in London, however, and was increasingly in the company of Florence Emily Dugdale, a young teacher and aspiring writer (chiefly of children's stories) who had first approached him as an admirer in 1905. She did typing for him, checked historical references for *The Dynasts* in the British Museum, and occasionally accompanied him to the lively intellectual gatherings hosted by Edward Clodd at his house in Aldeburgh, on the Suffolk coast. Whether they became lovers it is impossible to know. For a period in 1910–11 Florence Dugdale was on very friendly terms with Emma Hardy, staying at Max Gate while typing Emma's manuscripts and encouraging her literary ambitions, and going on at least one seaside holiday with her. Although – or perhaps because – Emma had been in poor health for so long, her sudden death, in November 1912, seems to have been quite unexpected. Florence Dugdale came at once to assist Hardy's sisters in running Max Gate, created some local scandal by staying on in the house for extended periods, and eventually overcame her numerous hesitations – expressed particularly in her letters to Edward Clodd – and agreed to become the

second Mrs Hardy. The marriage itself took place, in conditions of great secrecy, in the parish church of her home town of Enfield on 10 February 1914.

Hardy, meanwhile, had responded to Emma's death and the discovery of her private diaries – full of vituperative comments upon himself – by plunging into a period of profound remorse at having failed to halt the long erosion of what had begun so romantically at St Juliot more than forty years before. His rediscovered love for Emma would have its magnificent creative result in the 'Poems of 1912–13', first published in *Satires of Circumstance* in 1914. To Florence, however, it registered as a wilful act of self-laceration and as another burden to add to those she necessarily bore as the second wife of a world-famous author thirty-eight years her senior who had long become rigidly settled into his daily domestic and working routines. Though she recognized the excellence of the 'Poems of 1912–13', she could not help regretting what she saw as the public exposure of her insufficiency as a substitute for her predecessor.

The early years of the marriage were saddened by the death of Hardy's much-loved sister Mary in November 1915, by the outbreak and disastrous course of the First World War, and by the news, in August 1915, that a favourite Hardy cousin, Frank George, had been killed at Gallipoli. Hardy, so Florence reported, had imagined and confronted the war's worst possible consequences right from the start, and could therefore respond with some resilience to wartime pressures and privations, but he was already seventy-four years old when the war began and as he moved through his late seventies and into his early eighties he became increasingly set in his ways: hypochondriac, though rarely ill; frugal, though financially secure; obsessively industrious, though now in his ninth decade; acutely sensitive to criticism and public opinion, though so universally admired; and deeply pessimistic, though plainly fortunate in so many aspects of his life. Florence Hardy was in some respects well suited to cope with the special demands made upon her. She was an excellent typist, a devoted nurse, and a determined protector of her husband's privacy. But she was also depressive, insecure, quick to despair and complain, and too cruelly self-deprecating to cope well with the kind of crisis represented – for her at least – by Hardy's yearning and at times openly besotted response, extending over a period of years, to the appealing beauty of Gertrude Bugler, the young local actress who played Eustacia Vye, Marty South, and, above all, Tess Durbeyfield in dramatizations of Hardy's novels produced by the group within the Dorchester Debating and Dramatic Society that came to be known as the Hardy Players.

As time passed, Florence's specifically secretarial responsibilities became increasingly onerous. Hardy's fame brought him a very large correspondence, and while he answered some letters in his own hand replies to the others would be typed up by Florence from draft outlines her husband had supplied. She also typed up drafts and fair copies of the many poems he was still producing and played a crucial role, as typist and revising editor, in the secret composition of the third-person but essentially autobiographical 'Life and Work of Thomas Hardy', written by Hardy himself but always intended for posthumous publication as an official biography authored by his widow. After Hardy's death the scheme was faithfully carried through. Florence, as Hardy had envisaged, made revisions, deletions, and additions to the existing text and then brought it out over her own name in two volumes: *The Early Life of Thomas Hardy* (1928) and *The Later Years of Thomas Hardy* (1930), now better known by their conflated single-volume title, *The Life of Thomas Hardy*. Because the work emanated from Max Gate, offered extensive quotations from Hardy's notebooks, and was clearly authoritative, it amply served its immediate purpose of deterring alternative biographies. It has remained important as a unique source for many aspects of Hardy's life.

## Last Years

Hardy made his last visit to London in May 1920, shortly before his eightieth birthday, in order to attend the wedding of Harold Macmillan and Lady Dorothy Cavendish. He remained modestly active in local Dorchester affairs thereafter but rarely left Max Gate for more than a few hours. A large portion of each day was typically spent dealing with correspondence, writing new poems, revising old drafts, and from time to time checking copy and proofs for the successive verse collections he continued to produce with a regularity

altogether remarkable in a man of his years: *Moments of Vision* (1917), *Late Lyrics and Earlier* (1922), *Human Shows* (1925), and the posthumous *Winter Words* (1928), together with a carefully considered *Selected Poems* (1916) and the verse-drama *The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall* (1923). At about four o'clock he customarily descended to the drawing-room to chat lightly over tea with the day's quota of visitors. Some of these were or became famous, among them Virginia and Leonard Woolf, H. G. Wells and Rebecca West, Siegfried Sassoon, Edmund Blunden, Harley Granville-Barker, Walter de la Mare, E. M. Forster, T. E. Lawrence and Sydney Cockerell – these two last being perhaps the most frequent and most welcome. The Prince of Wales made a formal and highly publicized visit in 1924. Many callers, however, some of them Hardy or Hand cousins, came from Dorchester itself and the surrounding area, while still others were simply literary pilgrims, often from overseas, who had made their way to Max Gate in the hope of catching a glimpse of the great man and been lucky enough to find themselves invited into his house. In the early evening he and Florence might take the dog Wessex for a short walk, and after dinner Florence would read aloud for an hour or so, generally from a recent novel, biography, or collection of essays.

Although Hardy worried a good deal about his health, he seems in his last years to have suffered little beyond colds and minor bladder problems that were perhaps related to his illness of 1881–1882. He kept walking and cycling well into his eighties, performed with considerable vigour in August 1927 the laying of the foundation stone for the new Dorchester Grammar School buildings, and was welcoming visitors right through the autumn and early winter of that year. He seems also to have been enjoying a fresh burst of creative energy that impelled the writing of a number of new poems and the assembling of the volume that became *Winter Words*. In mid-December, however, he experienced a sudden loss of energy, and by Christmas he was seriously ill. Florence's sister, Eva Dugdale, a professional nurse, soon arrived, doctors and specialists were consulted, and there seemed some hope of a recovery. On 11 January 1928 Hardy had energy enough to joke with his doctor and dictate to his wife unforgiving epitaphs on two people, George Moore and G. K. Chesterton, with whom he felt he had scores to settle. At nine o'clock that evening, however, he suffered a massive heart attack and died almost immediately, crying to his sister-in-law, 'Eva, what is this?'

Hardy's family had always taken it for granted that he would be buried in Stinsford churchyard, alongside his parents, his sister, and his first wife, and that seems also to have been Hardy's own wish. It was, however, the strong opinion of such influential friends as Sir James Barrie and Sydney Cockerell (chosen by Hardy as one of his literary executors) that Hardy, despite his reputation as an agnostic, was too famous and important a figure to be allowed to rest anywhere but in Westminster Abbey. The consent of the Dean of Westminster was quickly obtained, but protests from Dorset led to a somewhat macabre compromise by which Hardy's heart was removed, for separate interment at Stinsford, prior to the cremation of the rest of his body and Abbey burial of the ashes. The two funerals, one national, the other local, both took place on 16 January 1928.

Michael Millgate. Toronto, 2016.

'It was not simply that he rose, so remarkably, from a position of rural obscurity to one of scarcely equalled national and international renown, but that he realized his genius in such a variety of literary forms and presented, by the time of his death, a model of a life lived to the limits of its creativity, active and even innovative to the very end and yet leaving no substantial literary task undone.' (Michael Millgate. *Testamentary Acts*)

## EARLY LIFE

**1 The Hardy Cottage, Higher Bockhampton. A reproduction of an original photograph by Percy Butler, circa 1860. Courtesy of Princeton University Library.**

Home to three generations of the Hardy family, this 'mud and thatch' cottage, located in the Dorset hamlet of Higher Bockhampton, in the parish of Stinsford, was built in the early nineteenth century for Thomas Hardy's grandfather, a bricklayer and mason also named Thomas Hardy. The cottage 'stood at the end of a narrow lane, solitary, deep among trees, and on the very edge of what was then open heathland, stretching almost uninterruptedly across south Dorset and into Hampshire'.[1] The 'Hardy cottage was occupied by a single family and boasted extensive outbuildings and nearly two acres of attached land'[2] and, as originally constructed, it seems to 'have had only one room on each of its two floors, the lower with a large open fireplace at one end, the upper divided by curtains into distinct sleeping areas'.[3] However, when Hardy's parents, Thomas and Jemima, moved into the cottage after their marriage in 1839, Hardy's father 'added new rooms at the south end....partitions were built in the bedrooms upstairs, the single room on the ground floor was divided into two'.[4]

It was in this cottage that Thomas Hardy was born in 1840, and would spend his childhood and much of his adult life until his marriage in 1874. His childhood experiences, shared with his siblings Henry, Mary, and Kate, in the natural landscape of rural Dorset, with the traditional ballads and music played by his father, and the stories told by his mother and grandmother, had a profound influence on Hardy's work, particularly his early novels and poetry. Hardy's earliest known surviving poem, 'Domicilium', describes the Hardy cottage and surroundings. It was here that Hardy wrote *Under the Greenwood Tree* (1872) in which 'he drew immediately and intimately upon his own family background'[5] and *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874), set as Hardy noted 'within a walk of the district in which the incidents are supposed to occur. I find it a great advantage to be actually among the people described at the time of describing them'.[6]

**2 Portrait of Thomas Hardy, Sr., 1877, taken in Bath when Hardy's father was in his mid-sixties. A reproduction of an original photograph. Courtesy of the Dorset County Museum.**

**3 Portrait of Jemima Hardy, 1876, at the age of sixty-three. A reproduction of an original photograph by W. Pouncy. Courtesy of the Dorset County Museum.**

Hardy's father, Thomas Hardy Sr. (1811–1892), spent his childhood in Higher Bockhampton in the Hardy cottage, and followed his father's trade, becoming a mason and a bricklayer and eventually taking over

the family business. Passionately devoted to music, the senior Hardy learned to play the violin and joined his father and brothers in the local church choir. The disbanding of the choir in the early 1840s was recreated later in his son's novel *Under the Greenwood Tree*, and music would feature in many of the novels and poems. In the 1920s Hardy recalled that his father was:

> '... a man who in his prime could be, and was, called handsome. To the courtesy of his manners there was much testimony among the local country-ladies with whom he came in contact as a builder.... He was about five feet nine in height, of good figure, with dark Vandyke-brown hair, and a beard which he wore cut back all round in the custom of his date...'[7]

While the precise circumstances of their meeting are unknown, sometime in 1837 Thomas Hardy Sr. met Jemima Hand (1813–1904), who came from the tiny village of Melbury Osmond in north-west Dorchester. She 'was rather below the middle height, with chestnut hair and grey eyes, and a trim and upright figure.... The Roman nose and countenance inherited from her mother would better have suited a taller build'.[8] In contrast to her future husband, Jemima had experienced in childhood considerable hardship, with a 'violent, drunken and unregenerate father' who died when she was nine, leaving her mother 'widowed, disinherited ... and frequently obliged to seek poor relief'.[9]

While Hardy's poem 'A Church Romance' 'evokes, romantically enough, an early moment in their [his parents] courtship'[10], in reality Jemima found she was pregnant, and she and Thomas Hardy Sr. were married in December 1839, some five and a half months before Hardy was born. Three other children were to follow, Mary, Henry, and Kate, and there is little doubt that Jemima was the dominant force in both the marriage and the lives of their children. While Hardy acquired his life-long love of music and nature from his father, it was Jemima who was responsible for many of his early interests and attitudes. She instilled in Hardy a love of reading and literature and saw to it that he received a better education than most boys of his class. However, not all of Jemima's influences were positive. Her deep sense of family loyalty – a clannishness so severe that she wished 'none of her children to marry, urging them to stick together, each brother living with a sister,'[11] would be the source of much distress for Hardy's first wife Emma, putting an additional strain on the marriage. Hardy's notation in a notebook in 1870 suggests that Jemima's attitude was the source of his pessimistic outlook: 'Oct 30 Mother's notion, & also mine: That a figure stands in our van with an arm uplifted, to knock us back from any pleasant prospect we indulge in as probable'.[12] However, Jemima's most important legacy was her extraordinary store of local memories; memories that Hardy drew upon and incorporated into his novels and poetry.

**4 Portrait of Thomas Hardy, circa. 1856. A reproduction of an original photograph by W. Pouncy. Courtesy of the Dorset County Museum.**

This, the earliest surviving portrait of Hardy, was taken by Dorchester photographer W. Pouncy about 1856, the year the sixteen-year-old Hardy began his architectural training with the Dorchester architect John Hicks. 'It shows a tight-lipped, slightly built young man with dark hair, incipient moustache, and modest aspirations towards sartorial elegance, evidently somewhat unsure of himself and of the photographer. Hardy would always be somewhat below the average

in height; he grew a beard in the 1880s, but reverted to a moustache in the early 1890s'.[13]

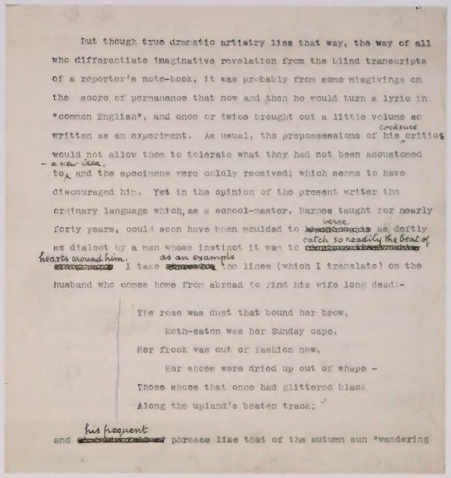
As Hicks specialized in ecclesiastical architecture, Hardy was most often involved in the restoration and construction of churches in the Gothic style, Hicks having particularly valued Hardy's gifts as a draughtsman. In the summer of 1860, his training at an end, Hardy accepted a position with Hicks as a paid assistant – a position he would hold until leaving for London in 1862.

**5 Edward Lacy Garbett (1824–1900). *Rudimentary Treatise on the Principles of Design in Architecture as Deducible from Nature.* London: John Weale, 1850.**

In 1850, Edward Lacy Garbett published this text-book, which provided the student with a history of architecture and placed an emphasis on a comparison between the Greek and Gothic styles, with references to Hogarth, Reynolds and Ruskin. The work enjoyed considerable success, going through nine editions, the last published in 1906.

During Hardy's training and work as an architectural assistant he would have become familiar with several periodicals and books about architecture. In fact, Hardy's architectural notebook contains annotations taken from such works as Brandon's *Analysis of Gothick Architecture* (1847), N. Eden Nesfield's *Specimens of Mediæval Architecture* (1862), Richard Shaw's *Architectural Sketches from the Continent* (1858), and the volume shown here, Garbett's *Rudimentary Treatise on Architecture*. While the latter three titles were all acquired by the young Hardy, Garbett's 'was the only book of architectural interest to remain in Hardy's library'.[14] The drawing of the cross-vault that appears on page 96 of Hardy's *Architectural Notebook* was copied directly from the drawing on page 159 in this volume.

**6 Thomas Hardy. 'William Barnes.' [England, 1918]. Five-page corrected carbon typescript of Hardy's introduction published in Humphry Ward's anthology of English poets. With corrections, additions and revisions in Hardy's hand throughout.**



But though true dramatic artistry lies that way, the way of all who differentiate imaginative revelation from the blind transcripts of a reporter's note-book, it was probably from some misgivings on the score of permanence that now and then he would turn a lyric in "common English", and once or twice brought out a little volume so written as an experiment. As usual, the propossessions of his critics would not allow them to tolerate what they had not been accustomed to, and the specimens were coldly received; which seems to have discouraged him. Yet in the opinion of the present writer the ordinary language which, as a school-master, Barnes taught for nearly forty years, could soon have been moulded to verse as deftly as dialect by a man whose instinct it was to catch so readily the beat of hearts around him. As an example I take one of the lines (which I translate) on the husband who comes home from abroad to find his wife long dead:-

The rose was dust that bound her brow,
Both-eaten was her Sunday cape,
Her frock was out of fashion now,
Her shoes were dried up out of shape -
Those shoes that once had glittered black
Along the upland's beaten track;

and his frequent phrases like that of the autumn sun "wandering

William Barnes (1801–1886) was a noted Dorset dialect poet and philologist. His dialect poems first appeared in the *Dorset County Chronicle* in 1833, and later publications included *Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect* (1844), *Poems Partly of Rural Life* (1846), *A Philological Grammar* (1854), and *A Grammar and Glossary of the English Language* (1863). Hardy became acquainted with Barnes while working in the architectural office of John Hicks, which was adjacent to Barnes's school in Dorchester. After abandoning his career as an architect for that of a writer, Hardy continued to visit Barnes until the latter's death in 1886. In his obituary notice for Barnes, which appeared in the *Athenaeum*, Hardy acknowledged Barnes's importance, stating he was 'probably the most interesting link between present and past forms of rural life that England possessed'.[15]

In 1907 Hardy agreed to edit the *Select Poems of William Barnes* (1908), described by R.L. Purdy as Hardy's 'most considerable tribute to a Dorset man whom he had known 'well and long', whose friendship he had cherished, and whose poetry had in some measure influenced his own'.[16] However, it was not to be Hardy's last word on

Barnes, as in October 1916, Humphry Ward asked him to provide a 'biographical summary and critical introduction' to precede '10 selections from Barnes's poetry' that would appear in Ward's anthology, *The English Poets*. While Hardy's introduction does indeed repeat a few lines and phrases from the earlier volume, it is essentially a new preface, specifically written for Ward's volume.

7 **Thomas Hardy. 'How I Built Myself a House' in *Chambers's Journal*. Issue no. 64, Saturday, 18 March 1865, pages 161–164.**

After completing his architectural apprenticeship with John Hicks, the twenty-one year old Hardy moved to London, where he found employment as a draughtsman in the office of Arthur Blomfield. Although he took advantage of the cultural experiences, such as the theatre and galleries, that London had to offer, Hardy seems for the most part to have divided his time between work and study. In fact, one co-worker noted that Hardy was 'quieter than most of his colleagues,' 'rather dreamy in manner, and much given to talking about literature and the writers of the day'.[17] By mid–1863, with the encouragement and assistance of his friend Horace Moule, Hardy was seriously considering a career in journalism as a practical means of satisfying his literary aspirations.

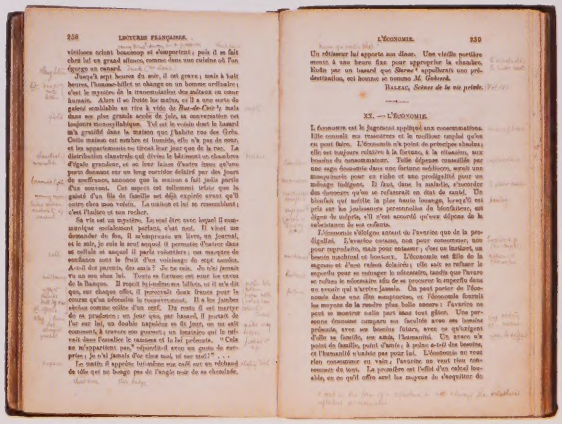
Drawing on his experiences as an architect, Hardy wrote a short humorous sketch concerning the misadventures of a young man building a house, which he submitted to *Chambers's Journal* in December of 1864. 'How I Built Myself a House' appeared in the March 1865 issue, and the later sale of the copyright for £3 15s marked the first time Hardy was paid for his writing. Although Hardy later described this first publication as 'a humorous trifle – written to amuse the pupils of Arthur Blomfield,'[18] he did acknowledge the important role it played in determining his literary career, as 'it may have been the acceptance of this *jeu d'esprit* that turned his mind in the direction of prose'.[19]

8 **Thomas Hardy. *Domicilium*. 'Of this poem by Thomas Hardy, twenty-five copies have been privately printed by Clement Shorter for distribution among his friends.' This copy is out of series, neither numbered nor signed. Published 5 April, 1916, with prefatory note by Clement Shorter.**

Despite the successful publication of 'How I Built Myself a House' in *Chambers's Journal* Hardy's focus turned to writing poetry in the hope of earning his living as a poet. 'Domicilium', written between 1857 and 1860, is 'the earliest discoverable of young Hardy's attempts in verse' and describes his birthplace 'as he knew it and as his grandparents had known it fifty years before'.[20]

Clement Shorter (1857–1926) was a journalist, critic and collector of books and manuscripts, who in his capacity as editor of the *Illustrated London News*, the *English Illustrated Magazine*, the *Sphere* and *Tatler*, occasionally printed Hardy's poetry and prose. Between 1914 and 1916 Shorter produced six pamphlets containing work by Hardy, including the above title, printed with the express condition that it is not to be published in any book or newspaper.

9 **Léonce Stièvenard. *Lectures françaises or Extracts in Prose from Modern French Authors with Copious Notes for the Use of English Students*. Third edition. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862.**



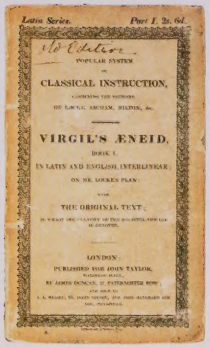
Hardy took advantage of his time in London to read widely, working through volumes of English poetry by such authors as Shakespeare, Milton, Byron, and Wordsworth. At the urging of his friend Horace Moule, he also read the work of thinkers such as Fourier, Comte, Newman, and Mill, recording his impressions in his pocket notebooks.

In October 1865 Hardy had his only experience of university education when he attended a course in French, taught by Léonce Stièvenard at King's College, London. Under his tutelage, Hardy worked through the texts, including Stièvenard's own work, *Lectures françaises*. In recalling his time with Stièvenard, Hardy noted that 'he was the most charming Frenchman he ever met, as well as being a fine teacher', adding that 'he, himself, was so deeply immersed in the study and practice of English poetry that he gave but a perfunctory attention to his French readings'.[21] This statement is contradicted somewhat by the copious annotations by Hardy in his own copy of *Lectures françaises* (shown here).

10 **Virgil.** ***The First Book of Virgil's Æneid, with a Literal Interlinear Translation on the Plan Recommended by Mr. Locke.*** **London: John Taylor, 1827. Thomas Hardy's copy, signed 'T. Hardy', with his shorthand notes in pencil on the rear endpaper.**

At the same time that he was taking French courses with Léonce Stièvenard, Hardy taught himself shorthand using a copy of Taylor's *System of Stenography, or Short Hand Writing, Revised and Improved by John Henry Cooke.* Hardy's copy of this book, now in the Dorset County Museum, bears his initials, 'T.H'. and his notation, 'The best system'.

Given Hardy's desire to pursue a literary career, perhaps it is not surprising that these early shorthand notes relate to the creative processes involved in poetry and art, rather than to specific aspects of Virgil's *Æneid*. In fact, the shorthand notes are Hardy's transcription of two paragraphs of a speech given by the Archbishop of York at the Dinner of the Royal Literary Fund, as reported in a long column in *The Times* on 12 May 1865. Hardy's shorthand note reads in part, 'It is so easy to mistake imitative for original ability, and to fancy oneself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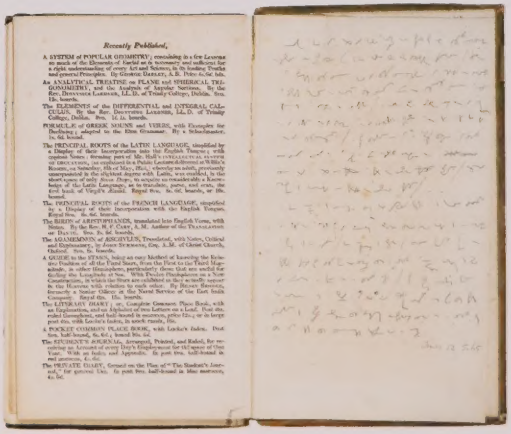
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**11 Portrait of Thomas Hardy, circa 1870. A reproduction of an original photograph. Courtesy of the Dorset County Museum.**

By the summer of 1867, the emotional turmoil caused by the ending of a romantic relationship, along with spending six hours each evening 'reading incessantly, instead of getting out for air', caused Hardy's health to 'become much weakened' until he had 'scarcely physical power left him to hold the pencil and square'.[22] Returning to Dorset in July, he once again took a job with the architect John Hicks, who was engaged in the restoration of several churches.

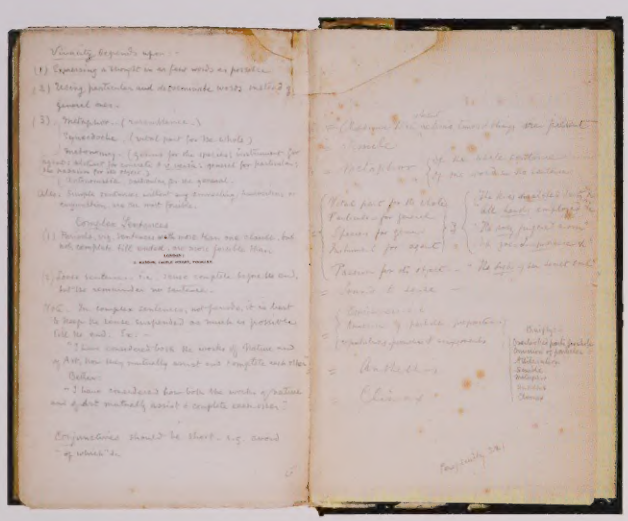
His arrangements with Hicks afforded Hardy time to write, and although he continued to produce verse, in the autumn of 1867 he began writing his first novel, *The Poor Man and the Lady,* which he later described as 'a sweeping dramatic satire of the squirearchy and nobility, London society, the vulgarity of the middle class, modern Christianity, church restoration, and political and domestic morals in general'.[23] The finished manuscript was submitted first to Macmillan, who wrote an encouraging letter to Hardy but declined to publish the novel, noting it had 'fatal drawbacks', and then to Chapman and Hall, who also declined, telling Hardy 'that you have not got an interesting story to work upon and thus some of your episodic scenes are fatally injured'.[24] Undeterred, Hardy in 1869, submitted the manuscript to Smith Elder, who rejected it, and then to Tinsley, who offered to print it in return for a guarantee that Hardy said was beyond his means. Unable to secure its publication, Hardy instructed Tinsley to return the manuscript, which he subsequently mined for 'material that could be used, virtually prefabricated, in the composition of other, more readily publishable works'.[25] Meanwhile, with his failure to find a publisher for his novel, Hardy returned to architecture.

This photograph by an unidentified photographer shows Hardy, with a full beard and moustache, as he would have appeared circa 1870 when he accepted work from the Weymouth architect, G.R. Crickmay in February of that year.

**12 Hardy's Architectural Drawing of the 'Church of St. Juliot, Cornwall. No. 7. Scale of 8 feet to 1 inch'. Dated 'May 2nd, 1870'. The drawing shows both the 'Transverse' and 'Longitudinal' Views. Reproduction courtesy of the Harry Ransom Center, University of Texas.**

**Portrait of Emma Lavinia Gifford. Reproduction of a locket miniature, circa 1870. Courtesy of the New York Public Library.**

After the death of Hicks, many of his unfinished architectural projects were assumed by G.R. Crickmay, who approached Hardy once again in 1870, asking if 'you can go into Cornwall for me, to take a plan and particulars of a church I am about to rebuild there?'[26] The dilapidated church was situated in the hamlet of St. Juliot, 'the remote parish mentioned, in a county he had never entered, though it was not distant'.[27] Hardy measured and surveyed the church and executed numerous drawings, several of which he finished when he returned to Crickmay's offices. The restoration was in itself insignificant, as Hardy noted years later: 'It was a journey of seeming unimportance, and was reluctantly undertaken, yet it turned out to have life-long consequences', as it was in Cornwall that he met Emma Lavinia Gifford (1840–1912) who would become his first wife.



13 George Campbell (1719–1796). *The Philosophy of Rhetoric.* Eleventh edition. London: Thomas Tegg, 1841. Thomas Hardy's copy with his signature and notes. With the Max Gate Library bookplate.

While Hardy continued to work as an architect in the early 1870s, he did not abandon his literary aspirations; in fact the annotations in his copy of Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* indicate that he was actively thinking about developing and refining his style and skill as a writer. The notations by Hardy range from very basic marginal lines and ticks to marginalia and finally to a three-page précis of the text which fills the two rear blanks and the rear pastedown. Hardy has provided headings for his notes at the rear: 'Vivacity depends upon', 'Complex Sentences' and 'Faults against Brevity'. Under each heading he cites examples or explanations illustrative of the category, especially as it relates to writing. For example, under 'Vivacity depends upon' Hardy notes '(1) Expressing a thought with as few words as possible (2) Using particular and determinate words instead of general ones'. He also defines metaphor, synecdoche, metonymy and antonomasia and gives an example of each on the facing page. Hardy notes, 'Simple sentences without any connecting prepositions or conjunctions are the most forcible'.

Hardy would later cite Campbell's text in providing an explanation for the controversial sentence in the last paragraph of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* "'Justice" was done, and the President of the Immortals, in *Æschylean* phrase, had ended his sport with Tess'. Hardy noted that 'the forces opposed to the heroine were allegorized as a personality (a method not unusual in imaginative prose or poetry) by the use of a well-known trope, explained in that venerable work, Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* as one in which life, perception, activity, design, passion, or any property of sentient beings, is attributed to things inanimate'.[28]

14 Thomas Hardy. *Desperate Remedies. A Novel.* First edition. London: Tinsley Brothers, 1871. In three volumes.

In 1869, still based in Weymouth and doing occasional work for the architect G.R. Crickmay, Hardy began to work on a new novel. By early February 1870, he had retreated 'to the seclusion of his mother's house' so that he 'could concentrate more particularly on the manuscript'.[29] In composing the new work, Hardy 'cannibalized' portions of *The Poor Man and the Lady*, and by early March 1870 the manuscript, 'representing about seven-eighths of the whole',[30] was sent off to Macmillan. Conscious of the criticism of the rejected *The Poor Man and the Lady*, Hardy on his second attempt produced a 'heavily plotted and deliberately sensational novel involving murder, abduction, impersonation, illegitimacy and a good deal of fairly explicit sexuality'.[31] While John Morley, the reader for Macmillan, acknowledged the novel had 'excellent structural and stylistic qualities', his observation that the plot turned 'on a disgusting and absurd outrage,' and contained a number of 'extravagant scenes' was enough to cause Macmillan to reject the novel.

On his return from St. Juliot, Hardy sent the returned manuscript to Tinsleys' who offered to publish it on the condition that Hardy

contribute £75 to offset some of the publishing costs, and that he make several revisions. Hardy spent much of the autumn on the revisions, including the removal of the violation of a young lady [Miss Aldclyffe] at an evening party that had so offended Morley. Hardy sent the revised pages from Bockhampton to St. Juliot so that Emma could 'write them out again in fair copy' while he 'completed the three or four remaining chapters'.[32]

*Desperate Remedies: A Novel* was published, anonymously, in three volumes, on 25 March 1871. The initial reviews in the *Athenaeum* and *Morning Post* were largely positive, most of the praise being focused on the rural episodes: 'the scenes allotted to these humble actors are few & slight but they indicate powers that might, & ought, to be extended largely in this direction'.[33] However, the 22 April issue of the *Spectator* began with a hostile first paragraph, and declared that although the author demonstrated some talent, the novel was probably 'a desperate remedy for *ennui* or an emaciated purse'.[34] In *Early Life*, Hardy recalled that 'the bitterness of that moment was never forgotten; at the time he wished that he were dead',[35] a reaction 'to hostile criticism that was to recur again and again throughout his life, even in the days of his greatest success and fame'.[36] The positive review by Hardy's friend H.M. Moule in the *Saturday Review* 'came too late to do any good', and a final accounting in March 1872 saw Hardy recover only £59.12s.7d. of his £75 investment.

## CAREER AS A NOVELIST

'The writer's problem is, how to strike the balance between the uncommon and the ordinary so as on the one hand to give interest, on the other to give reality. In working out this problem, human nature must never be made abnormal, which is introducing incredibility. The uncommonness must be in the events, not in the characters; and the writer's art lies in shaping that uncommonness while disguising its unlikelihood, if it be unlikely.' (*The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy*)

**15 Thomas Hardy. *Under the Greenwood Tree: A Rural Painting of the Dutch School.* First edition. London: Tinsley Brothers, 1872. In two volumes.**

*Under the Greenwood Tree*, the second of Hardy's fourteen published novels, was written largely in response to the reviews of his first book, *Desperate Remedies.* While critics had attacked the morality and sensational plot elements of that novel, they unanimously praised the subsidiary 'rustic' scenes and Hardy's '*unusual & very happy* facility in catching & fixing phases of peasant life'.[1] In August of 1871, Hardy wrote to Macmillan & Co. that this surprising critical attention paid to the 'rustic characters & scenery' in 'some reviews of a late novel of mine' had induced him 'to try my hand on a story wholly of this tone'.[2]

The resulting 'story' was *Under the Greenwood Tree: A Rural Painting of the Dutch School* – a work that is perhaps the least Hardyan of all his novels. It has been variously described by critics as a 'rural romance', a 'Shakespearean pastoral comedy', and a 'prose idyll'. Hardy textual scholars have observed that the book is really two plots woven together: one about the Mellstock Quire, where Hardy draws on the people, places, and dialect that he had known all his life; the other, a perfunctory love story that seems to have been added later, possibly to make the book more marketable. The original title of the manuscript was *The Mellstock Quire: or Under the Greenwood Tree,* and

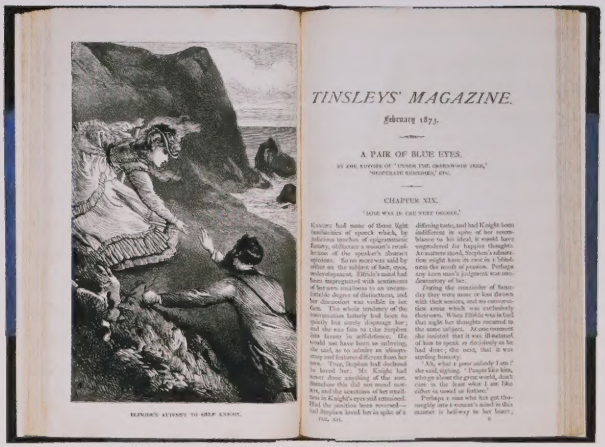
as critics have noted, Hardy's writing is strongest in the scenes describing the members of the choir and their village companions. It is noteworthy that in writing this novel, Hardy almost certainly mined some of the rural scenes written for his early unpublished novel, *The Poor Man and the Lady.*

Hardy sent the manuscript of *Under the Greenwood Tree* to Macmillan in 1871, even though the firm had turned down his first two novels. Alexander Macmillan (1818–1896) rejected it on the grounds that 'the public will find it very slight and rather unexciting',[3] but William Tinsley (1831–1902) was willing to publish the book if Hardy would sell him the copyright for £30. Hardy accepted, and while he never regained the rights to this novel, they reverted to his heirs seven years after his death.

*Under the Greenwood Tree* has the distinction of being the first Hardy novel to be published in America; the New York publishers Holt & Williams issued it in their Leisure Hour Series, in June 1873.

**16 Thomas Hardy. An original photograph by Herbert Rose Barraud. Published by Eglington & Co. in 1889. Courtesy of Debra Dearlove.**

Herbert Rose Barraud (1845–1896) was a London-based photographer, noted for his portraits. His subjects were generally Victorian statesmen, members of the aristocracy, artists, and authors. Barraud's half-length portrait of Hardy appeared in the series *Men and Women of the Day: A Picture Gallery of Contemporary Portraiture,* 1888–1894. The portrait, described as 'perhaps the most eloquent of all the photographs taken of Hardy' was accompanied by four pages of text which provided an account of Hardy's work to 1888, as well as a description of his working methods and his study at Max Gate: 'The author's study and workroom, a plainly-furnished upper chamber, is a place well calculated to kindle the imagination, on account of the wide outlook it commands over districts rich with the story of the past.... he can look abroad over the stretching landscape, and can note many a point in it which, through him, has become well known wherever the English language is read.'


TINSLEYS' MAGAZINE.

February 1873.

A PAIR OF BLUE EYES.

CHAPTER XIX.

ELFRIDE'S ATTEMPT TO HELP KNIGHT.

**17 'Elfride's Attempt to Help Knight.' The frontispiece illustration for the serialized version of Hardy's novel, *A Pair of Blue Eyes in Tinsleys' Magazine*, February 1873.**

Pleased with the positive reception of *Under the Greenwood Tree*, Tinsley approached Hardy about doing a serialization to begin in the September issue of his periodical *Tinsleys' Magazine*, an 'Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Light Literature'.[4] A year earlier, Hardy had written to Tinsley that he had 'proceeded a little way with another [story], the essence of which is plot, *without crime* – but on the plan of D.R. [*Desperate Remedies*]'.[5] Hardy now agreed to 'work up' his projected novel for a fee of £200 and began writing the first chapters of *A Pair of Blue Eyes*, producing twenty pages a month (forty chapters in all) that were published in *Tinsleys' Magazine* from September 1872 to July 1873.

Each of the eleven installments featured a full-page wood-engraved illustration by James Abbott Pasquier (active 1851–1872). The literary term 'cliff-hanger' is generally thought to derive from the dramatic episode illustrated here, where the novel's heroine, Elfride Swancourt, tries to rescue her suitor Henry Knight after he slips and

is left hanging on for his life to the face of Beeny Cliff. Chapter thirty of the serialized novel, published in the February 1873 issue of *Tinsleys'*, ended with this 'cliff crisis', leaving readers 'hanging' to know the outcome – to be revealed in the March installment.

This was Hardy's first serialization and a pivotal life event; it was during the composition of *A Pair of Blue Eyes* that he 'finally abandoned his original career as an architect and began to think of himself as a professional author'.[6] Hardy realized the importance of this first opportunity that Tinsley had offered him and worked rapidly to meet the demands of serial deadlines, completing the novel in eight months. Aware that good illustrations contributed to marketing success, Hardy sent sketches 'for some if not all of the twelve plates' to guide Pasquier in his depiction of the characters and scenes.

**18 Thomas Hardy. *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. First edition. London: Tinsley Brothers, 1873. In three volumes.**

*A Pair of Blue Eyes* (Hardy's third published novel) was in many ways a 'first' for him: it was the first novel that bore his name as author on the cover and title-page, his first serialized novel, and the first time that he had negotiated a substantial fee for his writing. Hardy now felt assured enough about his future to marry, and, in August 1872, he travelled to Cornwall to propose to Emma Lavinia Gifford. The novel is highly autobiographical and Hardy appears to have drawn heavily upon his own romantic experience to create the fictional love relationship between architect Stephen Smith and the rector's daughter Elfride Swancourt. Several episodes in the novel correlate almost with passages in *Life and Work* and entries in Emma's diaries.[7] Years later, Hardy wrote to a correspondent: 'It is very strange that you should have been attracted by *A Pair of Blue Eyes*. The character of the heroine is somewhat – indeed, rather largely – that of my late wife, and the background of the tale the place where she lived.'[8]

This first book edition of the novel differs textually from the serial version, as Hardy made several changes, the most important being the omission of the opening scene describing Elfride as she reads a romantic novel. Hardy made further revisions for subsequent editions of the book, two of the most interesting being the addition of the words 'with a miscarriage' to identify the cause of Elfride's death, and adjustments to geographic locations that set the novel squarely in Cornwall, the scene of the Hardys' courtship. *A Pair of Blue Eyes* was a critical success, but it was the last Hardy novel to be issued by Tinsley, who later called it 'by far the weakest of the three books I published of his'.[9]

**19 Thomas Hardy. *Far from the Madding Crowd*. Second edition. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1874. In two volumes. 'With twelve illustrations.'**

**'Bending over Fanny Robin, he gently kissed her.' Illustration in volume two, page 167.**

*Far from the Madding Crowd* was Hardy's first commercial success and the work that catapulted him to fame as a major Victorian novelist. At the invitation of Leslie Stephen (1832–1904), the novel was serialized in the *Cornhill*, a leading magazine of the day and far more prestigious than *Tinsleys'*, where his previous novel had appeared. When the novel was published in book form, in November 1874, Smith, Elder & Co. (who owned the *Cornhill*) printed an edition of a thousand copies, twice the size of previous editions of any Hardy novels. This first edition was entirely sold out in just two months and a second edition of five hundred copies was immediately printed in January 1875. *Far from the Madding Crowd* was more widely noticed than any of Hardy's three previous books and R.H. Hutton, reviewing it in *The Spectator*, compared Hardy to George Eliot, describing him as 'a new light among novelists'.[10] The term 'Wessex', which would soon become important as a unifying factor in Hardy's work, appeared for the first time in chapter fifty of this novel.

Sensing that *Far from the Madding Crowd* would be a success, Stephen gave the opening installment first place in the January 1874 issue of the *Cornhill*. Each of the twelve monthly installments was accompanied by a full-page illustration by Helen Paterson (1848–1926). *Far from the Madding Crowd* is unusual in that it is one of only two Hardy novels (the other being *The Hand of Ethelberta*) to include the illustrations from the serialization in the published edition of the

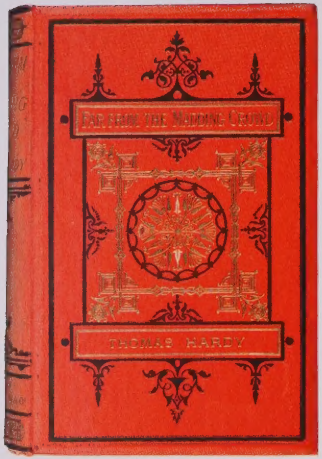
book. Hardy described Helen Paterson as 'the best illustrator I ever had'[11] and she was the only woman among the many contemporary illustrators of Hardy's novels. Critics have universally praised Paterson's high standard of draughtsmanship, her choice of scenes, and her subtle insight into the psychology of Hardy's characters. Hardy met her in person at a London dinner in May 1874 and corresponded with her at least once while he was working on the later installments of the serialization, offering to send 'any other information, or any sketch,' should she require it.[12] Helen Paterson married the poet William Allingham (1850–1919) in 1874, near the end of her commission for *Far from the Madding Crowd*, and Hardy married Emma Lavinia Gifford in 1874. However, Hardy seems to have harboured strong feelings for Paterson and in a letter to Edmund Gosse (25 July 1906) he described her as the woman he should have married 'but for a stupid blunder of God Almighty'.[13]

The illustration shown here accompanies one of the most emotionally charged scenes in the book. The novel's heroine, Bathsheba Everdene, has just opened Fanny Robin's coffin and learned 'the conclusive proof' of her husband's [Troy's] adultery and the 'last chapter of Fanny's story' – her death in childbirth. Troy bursts upon the scene, angrily pushes Bathsheba aside, and leans over to kiss the dead woman and child that lie within. While Paterson's illustration does not depict the contents of the coffin, Hardy's original manuscript mentions a baby.

The Fanny Robin subplot is an important counterpoint to Bathsheba's relationships with the three principal male characters in the novel. It is also significant because of its censorship at the hands of Hardy's *Cornhill* editor, Leslie Stephen. Like many magazine editors of the Victorian period, Stephen was fearful of giving offence on sexual and religious grounds to the *Cornhill*'s subscribers. He struggled with the coffin scene, writing to Hardy that 'I am relentlessly anxious to be on the safe side and should somehow be glad to omit the baby'. Hardy, eager to please at this early stage in his career, acquiesced to Stephen's wishes, noting that 'for the present, circumstances lead me to wish merely to be considered a good hand at a serial'.[14] Stephen removed all references to the baby, and to Fanny's sexual liaison with Troy. With the exception of some emendations Hardy made for the Osgood McIlvaine edition (1896), the details of this scene were never fully restored. The story of the Fanny Robin coffin scene foreshadows the bitter censorship challenges that lay ahead for Hardy with his later novels *Tess* and *Jude*.

**20 Thomas Hardy. *Far from the Madding Crowd*. First American edition. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1874. 'Leisure Hour Series.'**

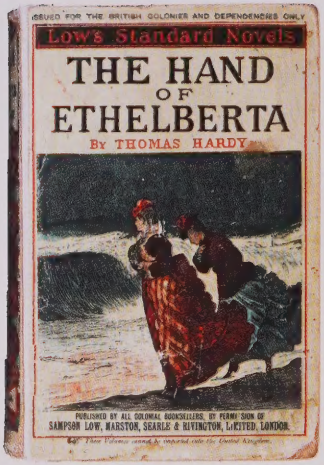
The American edition of *Far from the Madding Crowd* was advertised as 'ready' in New York on 28 November 1874, within five days of the English publication. The last five chapters of the American edition differ slightly from the English edition, having been set from a handwritten draft of earlier date than the manuscript used for the *Cornhill*. Henry Holt (1840–1926) was Hardy's American publisher from 1873 until 1886, and had already published *Under the Greenwood Tree* (Hardy's first appearance in America) and *A Pair of Blue Eyes* in his 'Leisure Hour Series' in June and July of 1873 respectively.




21 Thomas Hardy. *Far from the Madding Crowd.* New edition. London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1882.

In the 1880s and 1890s, Hardy benefitted from the 'steady modest income' that cheaper editions of his works provided. When Sampson Low became his publisher in 1881, they issued cheap one-volume editions in a variety of guises – some in illustrated boards and others in different qualities of cloth bindings. Perhaps the most attractive of the latter was this 'New Edition' bound in brightly decorated red cloth covers. Throughout the 1880s, Sampson Low issued eight Hardy novels as one-volume 'New Editions' in these identical red bindings – the nearest the author came to a collected edition of his work until the Osgood McIvaine 'First Uniform and Complete Edition' in 1895.

22 Thomas Hardy. *The Hand of Ethelberta, a Comedy in Chapters.* New and cheaper edition, Colonial Issue. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1888. 'Issued for the British Colonies and Dependencies Only.' 'Low's Standard Novels.'


ISSUED FOR THE BRITISH COLONIES AND DEPENDENCIES ONLY
Low's Standard Novels
THE HAND OF ETHELBERTA
By THOMAS HARDY
PUBLISHED BY ALL COLONIAL BOOKSELLERS, BY PERMISSION OF
SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON, SEARLE & RIVINGTON, LIMITED, LONDON.

After the success of *Far from the Madding Crowd,* Leslie Stephen asked Hardy to provide another serial for the *Cornhill,* and in March 1875 he submitted the first few chapters of *The Hand of Ethelberta,* which he described as 'a plunge in a new and untried direction'. The novel is a light comedy of manners about London society, and in writing it Hardy may have been reacting to the popular categorization of him as a pastoral novelist who would 'write forever about sheep farming'.[15] *The Hand of Ethelberta* was serialized in the *Cornhill* from July 1875 to January 1876, and then published in two volumes by Smith, Elder in April, illustrated with eleven drawings by George Du Maurier.

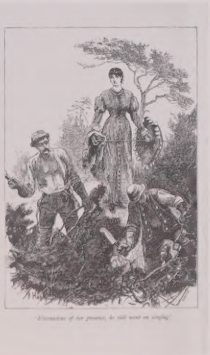
Sampson Low held the colonial rights for Hardy's novels 1882–1893 and the 'Colonial Issue' shown here is part of the Low's Standard Novels series. The cover illustration, a scene from the text, features one of the original illustrations by George Du Maurier, which were otherwise not reprinted in Low's editions.

23 Thomas Hardy. *The Return of the Native.* Serialized version of the novel, contained in: *Belgravia,* January to December, 1878.

**'She lifted her left hand.' First illustration of 'Eustacia Vye' from the serial, February 1878. Volume 34, page 493.**

**24 'Unconscious of her presence, he still went on singing.' Second illustration of 'Eustacia Vye' from the serial, August, 1878. Volume 36, page 236.**

*The Return of the Native* was printed serially in *Belgravia* from January to December 1878, each of the twelve installments appearing with a full-page illustration by Arthur Hopkins (1848–1930). Although they were excluded from the first edition of the published book (and were never again reprinted), the Hopkins drawings are of particular interest for the author-artist correspondence they generated and for what they reveal about the difficulties of nineteenth-century serial illustration. When his heroine Eustacia made her first appearance (in the February issue), Hardy felt that Hopkins had failed and wrote to him, 'It is rather ungenerous to criticise; but since you invite me to do so I will say that I think Eustacia should have been represented as more youthful in face, supple in figure, &, in general, with a little more roundness & softness than have been given her'.[16] Following this disappointment, Hardy took the time to correspond with Hopkins, sending him 'ideas of the story as a guide' and offering to supply 'rough sketch[es] done to the best of my power'. When Eustacia reappeared, in the August issue, Hardy was pleased and wrote to Hopkins, 'I think Eustacia is charming – she is certainly just what I imagined her to be, & the rebelliousness of her nature is precisely caught in your drawing'.[17]



**25 Thomas Hardy. *The Return of the Native*. First edition. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1878. In three volumes.**

*The Return of the Native* was written during what Hardy later called 'the Sturminster Newton idyll' (referring to the small town in north Dorset where the couple rented a house in 1876), the 'happiest time' of his first marriage. This was a period of creative confidence for Hardy, and as he worked on the manuscript of his novel, 'he strove more deliberately than ever before to make the book an unmistakable work of art, not just another run-of-the-mill serial'.[18] However, when the manuscript was sent out to magazine editors in February 1877, it was rejected three times – by the *Cornhill, Blackwood's Magazine,* and *Temple Bar* – before its acceptance by Mary Elizabeth Braddon for publication in *Belgravia.* The *Cornhill*'s editor, Leslie Stephen, although an admirer of Hardy's writing, was distinctly nervous about this new work. Hardy later recalled that, although he liked the opening, Stephen 'feared that the relations between Eustacia, Wildeve, and Thomasin might develop into something "dangerous" for a family magazine, and he refused to have anything to do with it unless he could see the whole'.[19]

*The Return of the Native* was a return to the 'remote rural life of *Far from the Madding Crowd*'[20] but sketched in darker tones, and set in the 'sombre scene' of Egdon Heath (TH, Preface, 1895), suggested as being 'the heath of that traditionary King of Wessex – Lear'. False starts and deletions in the surviving manuscript indicate that the novel was substantially revised before its submission to *Belgravia* and that some advance bowdlerization had certainly occurred. Early pagan elements, such as references to Eustacia as a 'witch' and to other 'satanic' characters on the heath, are sanitized in the serialization; mention of Thomasin's brief cohabitation with her husband before their marriage has been removed; and the circumstances surrounding Eustacia's death by drowning (was it by suicide or accident?) are left deliberately vague.

Contemporary reception of *The Return of the Native* was mixed, with many reviewers finding the book 'cold, intellectual and unnecessarily depressing'.[21] Nevertheless, *The Return of the Native* is categorized as one of the major Novels of Character and Environment in the Wessex Edition of Hardy's works, and has proved to be one of his most popular novels.

**26 Thomas Hardy. *The Return of the Native*. New edition. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1890. 'Low's Standard Novels.'**

This Low's reprint is an example of the small, inexpensive books that were issued for sale in railway bookstalls, beginning in the 1850s. Low's cheap reprint series of Hardy novels typically featured bluish-green glazed pictorial paper boards. Hardy later became dissatisfied with the poor appearance of many of the Sampson Low reprints and did not renew their rights when they expired in 1894.

**27 Thomas Hardy. *The Return of the Native*. First colonial edition. London: Macmillan and Co., 1896.**

Macmillan began publishing Hardy's novels in their new 'Colonial Library' (intended for sale in India and the British Colonies) as early as 1886. In a letter to Frederick Macmillan in June 1886, Hardy gives his permission to Macmillan, adding that 'personally I rather like the idea of this Colonial Library which you have been so enterprising as to start'.[22] Hardy's admiration for Macmillan's professional and personal qualities seems to have largely determined his decision to transfer all of his British rights to Macmillan & Co. in 1902.

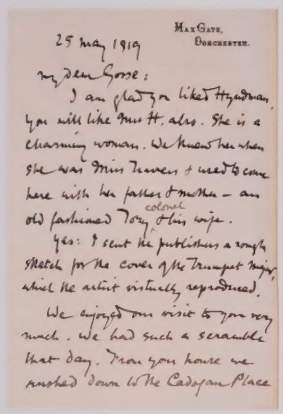
**28 Thomas Hardy. *The Trumpet-Major*. Serialized version of the novel in *Good Words*, January–December 1880.**

**'They proceeded with their burden at a slow pace to the lower garden gate.' Illustration from the serial appearance, September 1880.**

Hardy's life-long interest in Napoleonic history, and its particular resonance for the invasion-threatened area of Dorset in which he was born and brought up, bore fruit in what was to be his only genuinely 'historical' novel, *The Trumpet-Major*. Residence in London had given him regular access to the British Museum Reading Room, and his extensive researches there are reflected in the surviving 'Trumpet-Major Notebook'.[23] This new novel proved difficult to place as a serial, perhaps because of both its historical subject and the mixed reception recently accorded *The Return of the Native*. It was eventually accepted by the family-oriented Edinburgh monthly *Good Words*, where it appeared from January to December 1880. Hardy's first choice of illustrator was the *Punch* artist, Charles Keene (1823–1891), but, Keene being unavailable, the commission went to John Collier (1850–1934) who, while well established as a portrait painter, had little experience in book illustration. The thirty-two illustrations, five of them full-page, he had prepared to accompany the twelve serial installments were more functional than inspired. The one displayed accompanied the October installment and shows Anne Garland and Matilda Johnson carrying a supine Bob Lovejoy, who has drugged himself with poppies to induce the sleep that a headache is preventing, to safety from the press gang. One would not know from the illustration, with its static recreation in Bob of the famous 'Death of Chatterton' pose from Henry Wallis's 1856 painting, and the greater attention given in the women to details of authentic period dress than to facial expressiveness, that the scene it depicts is one of the most suspenseful in the novel.

**29 Thomas Hardy. *The Trumpet-Major*. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1880. First edition. In three volumes. Edmund Gosse's copy, with a letter (25 May 1919) from Hardy to Gosse. Courtesy of Debra Dearlove.**

*The Trumpet-Major* was published in an edition of a thousand copies on 26 October 1880. In the main it was well received, though Julian Hawthorne's *Spectator* review (18 December 1880), while praising the novel's ingenuity, tonal colour, and humour, closes with the kind of slightly tempered summation often adopted by reviewers of Hardy's



Max Gate,
Dorchester.

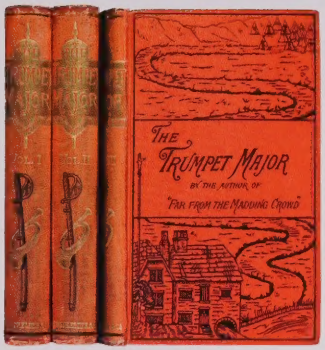
25 May 1919

My dear Gosse:

I am glad you liked Hyndman. You will like Mrs H. also. She is a charming woman. We knew her when she was Miss Travers & used to come here with her father & mother – an old fashioned Tory, & his wife. colonel

Yes: I sent the publishers a rough sketch for the cover of the Trumpet Major, which the artist virtually reproduced.

We enjoyed our visit to you very much. We had such a scramble that day. From your house we rushed down to the Cadogan Place




fiction: 'But all allowances made, if Mr. Hardy never writes a worse book than *The Trumpet-Major*, he will maintain a literary level which any contemporary writer of English prose fiction might be glad to attain.'[24] It sold even less well than *The Return of the Native* and 'in 1882 there were 250 quires and 33 copies in cloth to be remaindered'.[25] The copy on display was owned by Hardy's friend Edmund Gosse (1849–1928), essayist, poet, biographer, and critic, who was to be a pall-bearer at Hardy's Westminster Abbey funeral. It is accompanied by a letter from Hardy to Gosse (25 May 1919) that mentions his contribution to the distinctive design of this cover: 'Yes: I sent the publishers a rough sketch for the cover of the Trumpet Major, which the artist virtually reproduced.'[26]

**30 Thomas Hardy. *The Mayor of Casterbridge. The Life and Death of a Man of Character.* First edition. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1886. In two volumes.**

Of all Hardy's novels *The Mayor of Casterbridge* is the most intimately connected with Dorchester, the county town of Dorset. In Hardy's fictional Wessex, this becomes 'Casterbridge', the urban centre around which the agrarian economy pivots, 'the pole, focus, or nerve-knot of the surrounding country life' (chapter 9). The novel was written while the Hardys were living at Shire-Hall Place in the centre of Dorchester, the last page being completed on 17 April 1885.[27] It was serialized in twenty weekly installments in the *Graphic* (2 January to 15 May 1886), and simultaneously in America in *Harper's Weekly*, accompanied by illustrations by Robert Barnes. The English first edition was published in two volumes, without illustrations, in an edition of 758 copies on 10 May 1886. Reviews were again qualified, often, as in the unsigned notice in the *Saturday Review*, giving with one hand ('Mr. Hardy's … descriptive powers are as great as ever') while taking away with the other ('the book … does not contain a single character capable of arousing a passing interest in his or her welfare').[28] It again sold less well than expected, and than its subsequent status in the very front rank of Hardy's novels might suggest. In January 1887, Smith, Elder remaindered 108 quires and 37 copies in cloth to Sampson Low, who assumed English publication rights.[29]

The first English edition differed in significant respects from the first American edition, published by Henry Holt in his Leisure Hour series, and both book editions differed from the English and American serials. A major distinction between the book versions is that in the novel's original and final forms, but not in the early English editions, Chapter 44 has Henchard returning to Casterbridge for the wedding of Elizabeth-Jane. The deletion of this section from English editions removed one of the novel's most memorable images, the caged goldfinch, brought by Henchard as a wedding gift that starves to death in its cage when Henchard's hasty departure causes it to be forgotten. The scene was retained in the American first edition only by the accident of Holt's not having received revisions for the final chapters in time for their incorporation. Hardy's removal of the episode reflects his sense that *The Mayor of Casterbridge* had been damaged by the demands of serialization, the need 'to get an incident into almost every week's part causing him in his own judgment to add events to the narrative somewhat too freely'.[30] It was not until Osgood, McIlvaine reissued the novel as the third volume of their collected Wessex Novels edition (1895) that Hardy restored this episode to English editions 'at the instance of some good judges across the Atlantic, who strongly represented that the home edition

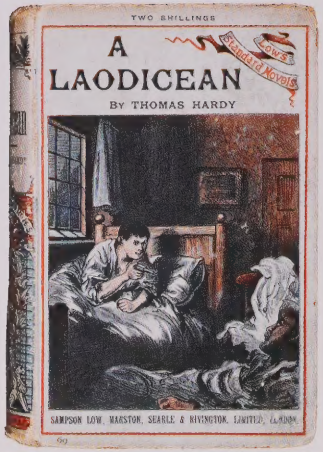
suffered from the omission'. Other changes, mostly directed towards remedying the over-eventfulness of the serial plot, were incorporated into both English and American editions. These included the deletion of a marriage between Henchard and Lucetta, entered into on the assumption that Susan is dead.

31 Thomas Hardy. *The Mayor of Casterbridge: A Story of a Man of Character*. New edition. London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1887.

Having assumed publication rights to *The Mayor of Casterbridge* in early 1887, Sampson Low issued a new single-volume edition. This incorporated minor changes in phrasing, the most notorious of which is the addition of Farfrae's observation that to continue the search for the missing Henchard overnight would 'make a hole in a sovereign' (chapter 45). This has frequently been advanced as evidence for the prosecution in critical claims that Farfrae is a more meagerly calculating figure than Henchard.

32 Thomas Hardy. *The Mayor of Casterbridge: A Story of a Man of Character*. Chicago: E. A. Weeks & Company, 1895. 'No. 39, Enterprise Series.'

The Chicago publisher E. A. Weeks (1893–1898) specialized in reprints collected together, seemingly arbitrarily, in both paperback and hardback series. The Enterprise Series, which began in 1894 and ran to 101 volumes in all, published miscellaneous fiction titles. No. 36 in the series was *The Trumpet-Major* and No. 39 *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1895), these being the only Hardy novels Weeks appears to have reprinted. The Enterprise Series operated by issuing a new title every week, with a subscription price of $13.00 a year. Its edition of *The Mayor of Casterbridge* was issued on 25 July 1895. The company's equivocal relationship with both copyright and bankruptcy laws appears eventually to have caught up with it and by 1899 it had ceased trading. The cover illustration, artist unknown, was made specifically for the Weeks reissue.




33 Thomas Hardy. *A Laodicean; or, The Castle of the de Stancys. A Story of To-Day*. London: Sampson, Low, Marston & Company, 1892.

Yellowbacks, (so called for the dominant, though far from exclusive, base colouring of their covers) were cheap (one or two shilling) paperback books, typically reprints of novels, sold in Britain throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. They were customarily distributed through the railway station bookstalls, established by W. H. Smith in metropolitan centres. They thus provide an illuminating sidelight on how changes in the technology of travel affected both reading habits and the marketing of books. Deliberately designed to catch the traveller's eye, with colourful covers often portraying dramatic moments from the story within, they sold in the hundreds of thousands. There is a particular appropriateness in Sampson, Low's reissuing *A Laodicean*, originally published in 1881, in this form since its plot makes much of the incursions of the new world – embodied in Paula Power, daughter of a railway magnate – into the old. The construction of a railway tunnel and the penetration of telegraph

wires into the medieval fastness of Stancy Castle are among the more striking visual embodiments of this meeting between old and new.

**34 Thomas Hardy. *The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid.* New York: John W. Lovell Company, 1883. Volume 4, No. 157, Lovell's Library.**

Hardy's long story/novella *The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid* is a strange hybrid of romance and fairy-tale. Its plot's mythic overtones owe something to both Red Riding Hood and Cinderella, with the dairymaid Margery Tucker's woodland meeting with the vulpine Baron von Xanten, the agent by whom she is granted her wish to attend a Yeomanry Ball. The resolution of her eventual return to her humble, lime-burner husband Jim was, according to Hardy, 'adopted to suit the requirements of the summer number of a periodical in which the story was first printed'.[31] His original intention had been to end with Margery's disappearance to foreign parts with the Baron. The story was the first by Hardy to appear in the *Graphic* (25 June 1883), with simultaneous publication in America in *Harper's Weekly*, in seven weekly parts (23 June–4 August 1883).[32] For copyright reasons, Harper published it in their cheap Franklin Square Library (29 June 1883), but this did not prevent widespread pirating, of which this Lovell's Library version is an early example.

**35 Thomas Hardy. Cabinet card. Elliott & Fry. Signed by Hardy.**

Elliott & Fry of 55 & 56, Baker Street, London were among the most eminent of Victorian society photographers. In a letter to John Lane, 24 May 1892, Hardy writes: 'With regard to a portrait. The best photographs have been taken by Elliott & Fry of Baker Street. They are in two or three positions: but I have not a single copy, although I have written for some. You would like to choose for yourself, no doubt.'[33] He recurrently gave the same recommendation to other correspondents seeking photographs of him. The photographer, though not known for certain, was probably Francis Henry Hart.

'A novel is an impression, not an argument; and there the matter must rest.' (Thomas Hardy, Preface to *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, 1912)

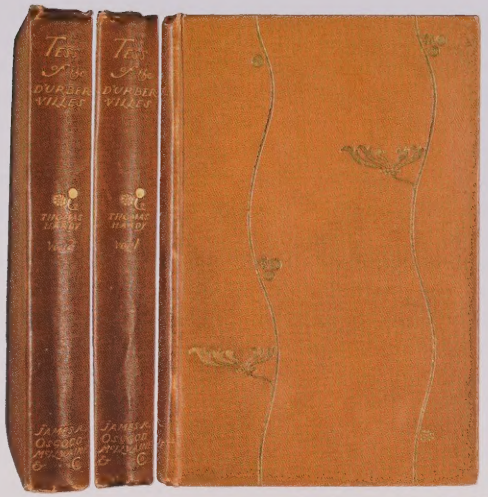
**36 'What makes you draw off in that way, Tess?' Illustration from the serial appearance of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* in the *Graphic*. 22 August 1891, Vol. XLIV, page 217.**

Arguably Hardy's best-known and most acclaimed novel, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* first appeared as a serial in the *Graphic* from 4 July to 26 December 1891. Its path to serial publication had not been smooth. Tillotson, *Murray's Magazine*, and *Macmillan's Magazine* had all been scared off by its sexual explicitness, while eventual acceptance by the *Graphic* came only after substantial bowdlerization. An illustration appeared with each installment, six of them by the eminent artist Hubert von Herkomer (1849–1914), the rest by three of his pupils: Daniel Albert Wehrschmidt (1861–1932), Ernest Borough Johnson (1866–1949), and Joseph Syddall (1864–1942). The illustration accompanying the 22 August installment was prepared by Johnson to accompany an episode from Chapter 17 in the *Graphic* version, in which Tess, walking alone on a summer evening in the garden at Talbothays Dairy, is drawn towards Angel Clare by the sound of his harp. The sympathy of the moment causes her to convey to him her fears of 'life in general,' eliciting his reciprocal surprise 'to find this young woman ... shaping such sad imaginings'. The scene thus reflects Angel's developing interest in Tess's intellect and sensibility as much as in her physical attractions. Unfortunately, Johnson's illustration entirely fails to reflect contextual specifics: Angel's stance, close to Tess and with his left arm reaching towards her waist and barring her way, is made to appear threateningly domineering, while Tess's hands are raised as if in ineffectual defence. Neither response matches with a situation in which Tess is said to have 'moved away furtively' while the 'low tones' of Angel's words reach her 'though he was some distance off'. Nor does the illustration show the harp that has been so central in attracting her attention. In fact, the image would be much more appropriate to an exchange between Tess and Alec d'Urberville, which is what careless criticism has sometimes taken it to be.[34]

**37 'Something seemed to move on the verge of the dip eastward – a mere dot. It was the head of a man approaching them from the hollow beyond the Sun-stone. Clare wished they had gone**

**onward, but in the circumstances decided to remain quiet. The figure came straight towards the circle of pillars in which they were.' Illustration from the serial appearance of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* in the *Graphic*. 26 December 1891, Vol. XLIV, page 759.**

This illustration, made to accompany one of the most dramatic and visually compelling episodes in *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, the arrest of Tess at Stonehenge, was the work of Daniel Wehrschmidt. While the huge monoliths encircling Angel and the sleeping Tess do give the image an appropriately louring and ominous tone, Wehrschmidt has made no attempt to match his depiction of a heavy-set, broad-shouldered, craggy-jawed figure to portrayals of Angel in the earlier illustrations, an unfortunate lapse made all the more obtrusive because the previous week's illustration by Hubert von Herkomer had shown an emaciated Angel lying haggard and skeletal on his sick-bed. Such failures of consistency in the rendering of characters' physical appearances inevitably undermine the effectiveness as a group of these drawings by four different artists.



**38 Thomas Hardy. *Tess of the d'Urbervilles. A Pure Woman*. Second impression. London: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine and Co., 1892. In three volumes, binding designed by Charles Ricketts.**

*Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, written at Max Gate between the autumn of 1888 and late 1890, was published by Osgood, McIlvaine (with whom Hardy had recently published the short story collection *A Group of Noble Dames*) in an edition of one thousand copies during the week of 29 November 1891, with a second revised impression (shown here) of five hundred copies appearing in early February 1892.[35] Hardy took the opportunity to restore most of the manuscript readings that had been bowdlerized for the serial in deference to editorial fastidiousness. The most significant of these was the counterfeit wedding ceremony into which Alec tricks Tess, an awkward contrivance that in going some way towards mitigating Tess's culpability in the eyes of a contemporary readership had the unfortunate reciprocal effect of making Angel's subsequent rejection of her seem all the harsher. The most bizarre, hence notorious, serial modification was the introduction of a convenient wheel-barrow that allowed Angel to convey the church-going dairy-maids through a flooded lane without actually carrying them.

The text continued to evolve down to, and in some degree beyond, the 1892 publication of the first cheap single-volume edition (known, confusingly, as the 'Fifth Edition,' intervening impressions being referred to by Osgood McIlvaine as 'editions'). It received mixed reviews, most praising its compassion and seriousness of intent, many identifying it as Hardy's greatest novel, but others offended by its questionable morality. Of these, none was more excoriating than the notice in the *Quarterly Review* by Mowbray Morris, who had rejected it for serialization in *Macmillan's Magazine*. He declared it to have told 'an extremely disagreeable story in an extremely disagreeable manner',[36] provoking Hardy to write, somewhat prophetically, in his diary: 'Well, if this sort of thing continues no more novel-writing for me. A man must be a fool to deliberately stand up to be shot at.'[37] Its controversial subject helped to generate brisk sales, with seventeen

thousand copies of the cheap edition printed before the end of 1892. Its lengthy evolution from manuscript through serial to three-decker and then single-volume form, with significant authorial modifications at each stage, makes *Tess* the most editorially complex of Hardy's novels. Its status in the front rank of his fiction, and as one of the nineteenth century's most influential and socially challenging novels, is reflected in its placing as the first volume in all collected editions of Hardy's work.

**39 'Jude at the Mile-Stone.' Illustration from serial appearance of *Hearts Insurgent* (later *Jude the Obscure*) in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, European edition. November 1895, Vol. XCI, page 896.**

*Jude the Obscure* was serialized in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* between December 1894 and November 1895. The first installment was published under the title *The Simpletons*, but by the following month this had become *Hearts Insurgent*, to avoid association with Charles Reade's novel *A Simpleton*. An illustration by the painter and illustrator William Hatherall (1855–1928) accompanied each monthly part. The last of these, 'Jude at the Mile-stone,' received particular praise from Hardy, conveyed in a letter to Hatherall (10 November 1895): 'Allow me to express my sincere admiration for the illustration of "Jude at the Mile-stone." The picture is a tragedy in itself: & I do not remember ever before having an artist who grasped a situation so thoroughly. You ought, I think, to exhibit the original picture. Would that I possessed a copy or photograph of it!'[38] The picture in question shows the ailing Jude, his life in ruins, all ambitions unfulfilled, resting on the milestone on which in youth he had carved notice of his aspirations towards Christminster.

**40 Thomas Hardy. *Jude the Obscure*. First edition. [London]: James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., [1896].**

*Jude the Obscure*, Hardy's final novel, was published on 1 November 1895, though post-dated 1896. Osgood McIlvaine had begun publishing their Wessex Novels 'First Uniform and Complete Edition' earlier

that year and *Jude* became the eighth volume in that series, for which Hardy had been undertaking revisions and supplying new prefaces. Henry Macbeth Raeburn prepared a frontispiece etching ('The "Christminster" of the Story'), as he did for all volumes of the Osgood McIlvaine Wessex Novels edition. By 15 February 1896, the novel was into its twentieth thousand. Harper & Brothers published the American first edition in mid-November 1895 (again post-dated 1896), which, unlike the English first edition, contained the serial illustrations by William Hatherall.[39]

*Jude the Obscure* provoked some of the most vituperative reviews of Hardy's career. Among the comments that caused him most pain were those contained in Mrs. Oliphant's extended rant against 'The Anti-Marriage League' in *Blackwood's Magazine* (January 1896): 'The present writer does not pretend to a knowledge of the works of Zola, which perhaps she ought to have before presuming to say that nothing so coarsely indecent as the whole history of Jude in his relations with his wife Arabella has ever been put in English print – that is to say, from the hands of a Master. There may be books more disgusting, more impious as regards human nature, more foul in

detail, in those dark corners where the amateurs of filth find garbage to their taste; but not, we repeat, from any Master's hand.'[40] The Bishop of Wakefield claimed to have thrown the novel into the fire, although '[k]nowing the difficulty of burning a thick book even in a good fire, and the infrequency of fires of any sort in summer, Hardy was mildly sceptical of the literal truth of the bishop's story'.[41] Perhaps the most damaging pain to Hardy was caused by the reaction of his wife Emma to a book that she saw as not only an attack on marriage as an institution but also a tacit revelation of her husband's feelings about their own marriage. The cumulative effect on Hardy of what he felt, understandably, was a more universally negative response to *Jude* than it really was (there were appreciative reviews also) confirmed in him the decision 'if he wished to retain any shadow of self-respect, to abandon at once a form of literary art he had long intended to abandon at some indefinite time, and resume openly that form of it which had always been more instinctive with him'.[42] With the exception of the book publication in 1897 of a much revised version of *The Pursuit of the Well-Beloved*, first published as a serial in the *Illustrated London News* in 1892, Hardy was to publish no more novels.

**41 Thomas Hardy. 'Candour in English Fiction.' In *The New Review*. (January, 1890), pages [15]-21.**

While facing complicated negotiations with cautious editors for the publication of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, Hardy was invited along with novelists Eliza Lynn Linton (1822–1898) and Walter Besant (1836–1901), to contribute to a *New Review* symposium on 'Candour in English Fiction'. His thoughts on the damage to serious fiction wrought by the demands of both serial publication and the circulating libraries constitute one of his most extended public ruminations on literary matters. He suggests a three-fold remedy for the difficulties faced by writers of serious contemporary fiction: 'a system of publication under which books could be bought and not borrowed'; the publication of fiction intended for adults in newspapers read mainly by adults; and 'what, upon the whole, would perhaps find more favour than any with those who have artistic interests at heart, and that is, magazines for adults; exclusively for adults, if necessary'.[43]

**42 Thomas Hardy autograph letter to George Morley. 5 July 1907.**

George Morley, aspiring novelist and author of books on Warwickshire, had written to Hardy seeking advice about novel-writing. Hardy's comments were far from encouraging: 'Literature is a precarious profession at the best of times, & in average cases requires a greater expenditure of labour than any other to produce a steady income from – certainly than any trade. The sale of a book is largely a matter of chance. A book may be good, but not sell; it may be bad, & sell well.'[44] This somewhat rueful advice came, of course, from a Hardy who had himself given up writing novels more than a decade earlier.

## 'WIVES ALL'

Emma Lavinia Hardy (1840–1912)

'People go on marrying because they can't resist natural forces, although many of them may know perfectly well that they are possibly buying a month's pleasure with a life's discomfort.' (Thomas Hardy. *Jude the Obscure*)

'Love interest – adoration, & all that kind of thing is usually a *failure – complete*...If he belongs to the public in any way, years of devotion count for nothing.' (Emma Hardy, Aug. 20, 1899)

**43 Emma Hardy. *Some Recollections by Emma Hardy.* Edited by Evelyn Hardy and Robert Gittings. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.**

**Emma Hardy. *Diaries*. Edited by Richard H. Taylor. [Ashington]: Mid Northumberland Arts Group and Carcanet New Press, 1985. Cover illustration depicting a young Emma, taken from a painting in the Dorset County Museum.**

Emma Lavinia Gifford was the daughter of Plymouth solicitor John Gifford and his wife Emma. The manuscript of *Some Recollections*, discovered by Hardy after Emma's death, provides a 'charming evocation of her childhood and of her first meeting with her husband'.[1] The early pages relating to her childhood and family reveal a pre-occupation with class and society that would persist throughout her adult life and marriage to Hardy: 'my home was a most intellectual one and not only so but one of exquisite home-training and refinement.'[2] However, Emma also acknowledges the darker aspects of her childhood, including her father's drinking and its consequences. Without formal education, she secured a position as a governess but in 1868 took the opportunity to move to St. Juliot, Cornwall, where she lived with her sister, Helen Holder, who was married to the local rector.

Emma describes her first meeting in St. Juliot with the young architect, Thomas Hardy, who would eventually become her husband, 'I was immediately arrested by his familiar appearance, as if I had seen him in a dream – his slightly different accent, his soft voice ... So I met my husband, or rather he met me'. Hardy was 'immediately fascinated by Emma's spectacular and as yet unfaded corn-coloured hair as well as by her middle-class accomplishments, literary enthusiasm, and provocative unpredictability'.[3] After a prolonged courtship, during which Hardy appears to have had second thoughts about his engagement, they married on 17 September 1874 (see also Early Life, item 12). As neither family approved of the match, the ceremony itself was a small, somewhat sombre affair, presided over by Emma's uncle the Reverend Gifford. The Hardys spent their honeymoon in Paris and Normandy – Emma's diary (see above) is filled with copious details of food, dress, furnishing and local customs, but oddly neglects to mention her husband. They returned to London in early October, settling for the moment in Surbiton and awaiting the publication of *Far from the Madding Crowd*, the novel that would establish Hardy's reputation as a serious and successful novelist.

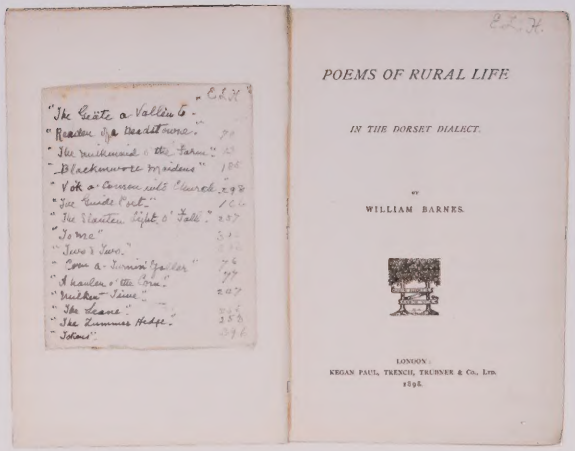
44 Izaak Walton (1593–1683) and Charles Cotton (1630–1687). *The Complete Angler, Or The Contemplative Man's Recreation*. Fourth edition. London: D. Bogue, 1844. Signed 'Emma L. Hardy, 1874. West End Cottage, Swanage 1875.' Pencil drawings with fishing theme by Emma Hardy on the flyleaf and titlepage.

45 William Barnes (1801–1886). *Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1898. Initials 'ELH' on the title page and with an annotated list written by Emma Hardy, noting 'poems to be read'.

Despite her lack of formal education, Emma was an avid reader, with a keen interest in literature, and harboured literary aspirations of her own. In the early days of their courtship and into their marriage, reading was a shared experience, and the two books shown here illustrate the range of her interests. Her copy of *The Complete Angler* bears an inscription dated 1874, the year of their marriage, and it seems likely that the small charming pencil sketches, depicting men fishing, could well have been done during one of the many walks they made in the Cornish countryside during their courtship – walking 'along the roads, and through the scattered hamlets, sometimes gazing down at the solemn small shores below where seals lived … we sketched and talked of books'.[4]

Given Hardy's ambitions as a poet, and his interest in the poetry of William Barnes, as well as her own literary aspirations, it is not surprising that Emma owned a copy of his *Poems of Rural Life in the Dorset Dialect*, in which she marked poems to be read.

Although the early years of the Hardys' marriage were disrupted by several moves and relocations, Hardy's success as a writer led to financial security, and on the surface their domestic life appeared to be a happy one. Now that he was an established novelist, Hardy's social world expanded, and Emma, in her 'desire to figure in the metropolitan literary scene as the wife and helpmate of a successful novelist',[5] often exaggerated her participation in the composition of Hardy's novels. While it is impossible to determine precisely when the Hardys' relationship began to deteriorate, Hardy himself pointed to their move to Tooting in 1878 during the writing of *A Laodicean* as




the place 'where our troubles began'.[6] The problems were further exacerbated by their relocation to Dorchester and then Max Gate, which brought Emma into direct conflict with Hardy's mother and sisters, who remained permanently unreconciled to the marriage.

46 Emma Hardy in early middle age. A reproduction of an original photograph.

By the 1890s the Hardys' relationship had deteriorated significantly and Emma's surviving letters express her deep resentments: 'She felt eclipsed by her husband's fame, denied participation in his work, and largely excluded from his lionization in "society" following the publication of *Tess*' and she was jealous of the attention paid Hardy by attractive women such as Florence Henniker. Her strained relationship with Hardy's family was a constant source of distress and disagreement, as she was 'outnumbered by the Hardy family, excluded from its conclaves, and powerless in the face of its solidarity.'[7] Emma's bitter feud with his family culminated in 1896 when she reacted to the unrelenting disapproval and persecution, and sent an extraordinarily abusive letter to Hardy's sister, Mary, telling her, 'You

have ever been my causeless enemy', accusing her of spreading 'evil reports of me' and finally, equating her to 'a witch-like creature & quite equal to any amount of evil-wishing & speaking', adding 'I can imagine you, & your mother & sister on your native heath raising a storm on a Walpurgis night'.[8]

Emma received little support from Hardy, who not only always took his family's side but found Emma's increasingly erratic and eccentric behaviour to be a social embarrassment. Visitors to Max Gate frequently commented on Emma's manner – Fanny Stevenson called Emma '*very* plain, quite underbred and most tedious'[9] while George Gissing described her as 'an extremely silly & discontented woman'.[10] Emma expressed her feelings of discontent in a letter to the newly married Elspeth Grahame: 'I can scarcely think that love proper, and enduring, is in the nature of men ... There is ever a desire to give but little in return for our devotion, & affection ... & at fifty, a man's feelings too often take a new course altogether.'[11]

47 **'Women and the Suffrage.' Emma Hardy letter to the editor of *The Nation*, 9 May 1908. Signed 'Emma Hardy, Max Gate, Dorchester, Dorset. May 6, 1908'. Facsimile courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.**

48 **Emma Hardy autograph letter to her cousin Leonie Gifford, on Max Gate stationery, dated 18 October [1911].**

49 **Emma Hardy. *Alleys*. Max Gate. December 1911. Presentation copy, 'from the authoress'.**

50 **Emma Hardy. *Spaces*. Max Gate, April 1912. Printed by the Cornhill Press, Dorchester. With the bookplate of Frederick Baldwin Adams.**

51 **Emma Hardy, circa 1905. Reproduction of an original photograph.**

With the publication of *Jude*, the Hardys' relationship was strained beyond the point of repair, and Emma took the advice she had given to Elspeth Cameron in 1899: 'Keeping separate a good deal is a wise plan in crises – and being both free – & *expecting little* neither gratitude, nor attentions, love, nor *justice*, nor *anything* you may set your heart on.'[12] Emma distanced herself from Hardy both socially and domestically. She began to travel alone, established her own space at Max Gate, and relocated to two rooms in the attic, 'my sweet refuge & solace',[13] turning her focus to the various causes and activities that interested her – suffrage, religion, and writing.

A zealous advocate for women's suffrage, Emma joined the London Society for Women's Suffrage, participated in their large-scale demonstrations, and wrote numerous letters to various newspapers. In May 1908, the *Nation* magazine published her long and passionate letter arguing for women's rights, in which she states in part: 'The peaceful and rightful government can only be carried on by *both* ... The time is ripe, women are capable ... Their participation in government is not to supersede men's rule but to share it, standing on the same platform with equal rights.'

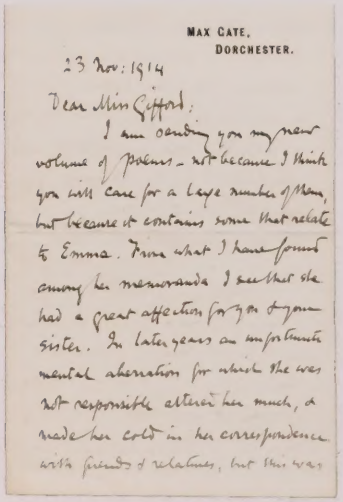
While Hardy did not disapprove of or disagree with Emma's advocacy for women's rights, he was dismayed that her 'writing' was not confined to this issue alone. Although Emma had always been conventionally religious, her later years were characterized by an intense and strident religiosity. Her correspondence to friends was

peppered with vehement anti-Catholic rhetoric, and she joined several Protestant organizations, telling her cousin Leonie: 'I have been scattering beautiful little booklets about – which may, I hope, help to make the clear atmosphere of pure Protestantism in the land to revive us again – in the *truth* – as I believe it to be. So I send you some of them. Do read & *pass them on.*'[14] In 1912 she provided a fuller exposition of her religious beliefs in *Spaces,* a small booklet which included a 'homily on the need to be an acceptor of God's salvation' and a 'vision of the Day of Judgement'.[15]

Emma's literary aspirations were also realized with the publication of some of her poetry in *The Sphere* and in *Alleys*, a privately printed edition containing fifteen of her poems on a variety of subjects.

**52 Thomas Hardy, autograph letter to Miss Kate Gifford, on Max Gate stationary, dated 23 November 1914.**

While Emma's health had been poor and her mental state had deteriorated, her death on 27 November 1912 was absolutely unexpected. She was buried at Stinsford, 'in the plot which Hardy had already marked out for her, and for himself, alongside the graves of his parents and grandparents'.[16] Hardy's shock at Emma's death quickly turned to guilt and remorse, as he told Florence Henniker: 'I have reproached myself for not having guessed there might be some internal mischief at work ... In spite of the differences between us ... & certain painful delusions she suffered from at times, my life is intensely sad to me now without her.'[17] Hardy's guilt, and nostalgia for Emma as she was when they first met, only increased with the passage of time and while it was a source of great distress for Florence Dugdale, who became his second wife, for Hardy it became a source of inspiration for many of his later poems, including the magnificent 'Poems of 1912–13', which were included in *Satires of Circumstance* (1914). Hardy sent a copy of this volume to Emma's cousin, Kate Gifford, and in the accompanying letter (above) he writes of Emma that: 'she had great affection for you & your sister. In later years an unfortunate mental aberration for which she was not responsible altered her much ... but this was contrary to her real nature, & I myself quite disregard it in thinking of her. She was, as you know, most childlike & trusting formerly.'



MAX GATE,
DORCHESTER.

23 Nov: 1914

Dear Miss Gifford,

I am sending you my new volume of poems – not because I think you will care for a large number of them, but because it contains some that relate to Emma. From what I have found among her memoranda I see that she had a great affection for you & your sister. In later years an unfortunate mental aberration for which she was not responsible altered her much, & made her cold in her correspondence with friends & relatives, but this was

Florence Emily Hardy (1879–1937)

'We thought it the wisest thing to do, seeing what a right hand Florence has become to me, & there is a sort of continuity in it, & not a break, she having known my first wife so very well.' (Thomas Hardy to Sydney Cockerell, 11.2.1914)

'I did indeed marry him that I might have the right to express my devotion – & to endeavour to add to his comfort & happiness.' (Florence Hardy to Sydney Cockerell, 13.2.1914)

**53 Florence Emily Dugdale 1898, age 19. Reproduction of an original photograph.**

Florence Emily Dugdale was born in Enfield, the second daughter of William Dugdale, a schoolmaster, and his wife Emma. While there is little information about Florence's childhood, she was clearly brought up in 'solid lower-middle-class comfort, and exposed to a thoroughly conventional set of religious, moral and domestic values'.[18] Although she was 'quiet, studious and sweet-tempered as a girl and young woman',[19] Florence suffered throughout her life from delicate health and a tendency towards depression. With few employment opportunities open to women, and the family resources scant, Florence chose one of the few acceptable options available to her – teaching. But although she obtained her Acting Teacher's Certificate, she proved to be both temperamentally and physically ill-suited to teaching, and began to explore other possible means of earning a livelihood.

Florence had long had ambitions to support herself by writing and as early as 1901 she had taught herself to type and begun 'submitting articles, stories and reviews to the local Enfield paper'. By 1905 she had managed to place a few items in London newspapers, including *The Sphere*, edited by Hardy's friend, Clement Shorter, and had begun to write children's stories – several of which were eventually published. In August 1905, Florence wrote a letter that would change the course of her life – addressed to Thomas Hardy, whose work she had long admired, and asking if she might visit him at Max Gate. Hardy's response was formal but positive, 'Dear Madam, As you are not going to print anything about your visit, I shall be happy to be at home some afternoon during this month'.[20] Florence, accompanied by Florence Henniker, had politely arranged to call upon the 'lady of the house', but as Emma declined to join them, Hardy entertained them by himself. 'From the very first Hardy felt attracted to Miss Dugdale by her quiet seriousness, her large solemn eyes, her literary ambitions, and, not least, her open admiration of him as a great author'.[21] Florence came to Max Gate again at the end of the year, Hardy encouraging further visits: 'I must thank you for the box of sweet flowers ... & hope you will come again some other time.'[22]

**54 Photograph of Thomas Hardy and Florence Dugdale on the beach at Aldeburgh, Suffolk, August 1909. Reproduction of an original photograph by Edward Clodd. Courtesy of the Dorset County Museum.**

From the time of their meetings in late 1905 and early 1906, the relationship between Hardy and Florence deepened, and 'reawakened –

or perhaps simply reinforced – Hardy's old susceptibility to feminine companionship and caused him to fret anew at the restrictions placed upon him by his own marriage'.[23] He continued to correspond with Florence and arranged to meet her whenever he could reasonably do so. For her part, Florence endeavoured to be both available and helpful – she began to spend Sundays and holidays in the British Museum, in order to 'verify certain facts concerning the Napoleonic Era, & this for the use, & under the direction of Mr. Thomas Hardy ... certain references that he needs for his book *The Dynasts*'.[24] Concerned about Florence's health, Hardy wrote in March of 1907, 'you are not to go & search in the B. Museum for me if you are not *quite* well'.[25] In April, he arranged a meeting at the South Kensington Museum: 'I will look for you in the architectural gallery at 4 – say by the Trajan column.'[26] Hardy also encouraged and advised Florence in her literary pursuits, securing the publication of her story 'The Apotheosis of the Minx' in the *Cornhill*.

Hardy and Florence continued to spend time with each other, in London and elsewhere. In order to facilitate these meetings, Hardy took friends, such as Edward Clodd, into his confidence, revealing details of his 'strained relations with Emma' and mentioning 'the "amanuensis" whom he might one day bring to Aldeburgh with him'.[27] Hardy and Florence spent a week together at Aldeburgh in August 1909 and were photographed by Clodd beside a breakwater on Aldeburgh Beach (shown here). After the visit, a clearly appreciative Hardy wrote to Clodd 'My appetite has been increased by the Aldeburgh air to an alarming degree, from a housekeeping point of view; &, I think, strength too. So you see how much I owe you'.[28] In the fall of 1909, Hardy and Florence made frequent trips together, revisiting Clodd at Aldeburgh, as well as travelling to Chichester, York, Durham, and Edinburgh.

**55 Florence Dugdale. Correspondence card to H.V. McArthur, dated 2 August 1910. On Max Gate stationery with enclosure on lined paper, sending information on local inns in Dorchester signed 'F.E.D. Secretary.'**

**56 Florence Dugdale photographed prior to her marriage to Thomas Hardy. Reproduction of an original photograph.**

While poems such as 'After the Visit' and 'To Meet, or Otherwise' were indicative of Hardy's deepening feelings for Florence, his relationship with her 'only accentuated his depression to be unable to see any way in which she could become a part of his everyday life'.[29] However, this situation changed in the summer of 1910 when Florence came to the assistance of Emma Hardy at an event at the Lyceum Club. As they were both members of the Club, it is impossible to know whether the meeting was simply serendipitous, or was the result of Hardy suggesting to Florence that she ingratiate herself with Emma, but in any case it provided a means for Florence to become part of Hardy's everyday life at Max Gate. 'Emma responded with eager impulsiveness to Florence's quiet charm and readiness to be of service'[30]and, encouraged by Hardy, invitations to Max Gate followed, so that by the end of July, Florence was at Max

Gate as Emma's 'guest and assistant'.[31] By the fall of 1910, Florence had become a regular part of the Hardy household, not only typing the manuscripts of Emma's various literary efforts, but serving as Hardy's 'secretary', answering correspondence and typing. Given her close relationship with Hardy, it is not surprising that Florence experienced conflicting feelings about Emma. At times Florence expressed a genuine affection for her: 'Mrs. Hardy is good to me, beyond words, & instead of cooling towards me she grows more & more affectionate.'[32] However, Emma's increasing eccentricity and hostility towards Hardy did not go unnoticed, as Florence confided to Clodd: 'Mrs. Hardy seems to be queerer than ever. She has just asked me whether I have noticed how extremely like [Hawley Harvey] *Crippen* Mr TH. is, in personal appearance. She added darkly that she would not be surprised to find herself in the cellar one morning.'[33]

57 **Florence Dugdale. *The Book of Baby Beasts*. Illustrations by E.J. Detmold. Descriptions by Florence Dugdale. London: Henry Frowde, Hodder & Stoughton, [1911].**

**Florence Dugdale. *The Book of Baby Birds*. Illustrations by E.J. Detmold. Descriptions by Florence Dugdale. London: Henry Frowde, Hodder & Stoughton, [1912].**

**Florence Dugdale. *The Book of Baby Pets*. Illustrations by E.J. Detmold. Descriptions by Florence Dugdale. London: Henry Frowde, Hodder & Stoughton, [1915].**

From 1905 Florence Dugdale was the author of numerous short stories for children, published in small volumes such as *In Lucy's Garden* and *Old Time Tales*. However, these three large volumes of verse for children, which appeared between 1911 and 1915, were much more elaborate publications than any of Florence's previous children's books. Each work is devoted to a specific group of 'baby animals' and contains attractive, full-page illustrations in colour by E.J. Detmold (1883–1957), each preceded by a poem and accompanied by a prose description. Florence was clearly identified as the author of the prose pieces and, in the absence of another authorial ascription, it was assumed that she had also written the poems. However, in *Thomas Hardy: A Bibliographical Study* (1954) Richard Little Purdy was the first to suggest that the poems might have indeed been written by Hardy, singling out three poems specifically. In his introduction to the 2002 publication of the *'Baby'* poems, *Fifty-Seven Poems of Thomas Hardy*, Bernard Jones effectively argues that Hardy was indeed the author of the poems – noting his authorship of other pieces published over Florence's name, the lack of any record that Florence ever wrote verse, and the evidence of Hardy's active cooperation in the *Baby* books projects. Most importantly, he notes that 'the most persuasive evidence for Hardy's authorship is the humour, liveliness, and imaginative sympathy of the poems themselves, and the highly invoked technical deftness of their runs of expression, poetic devices and variety of stanza patterns'.[34]

58 **Photograph of Thomas Hardy and Florence Hardy, in the doorway of Max Gate, shortly after their marriage in February 1914.**

**Florence Hardy, autograph letter to Leonie Gifford, on Max Gate stationery, 12 February 1914.**

With the sudden death of Emma Hardy in November 1912, both Hardy and Florence were compelled to reconsider their 'situation'. On her return to Max Gate in December 1912, Florence found her position in the household had been usurped, as Emma's niece Lilian Gifford had taken up residence at Max Gate. Hardy, meanwhile, was already beginning to show the signs of guilt and remorse about his treatment of Emma – guilt that he would continue to express until his death – at one point going so far as to suggest to Florence that she 'wear half-mourning in perpetuity as a sign of devotion to Emma's memory'.[35] While Florence continued to act as Hardy's secretary, assisting him with the mass of correspondence generated by Emma's death, she struggled to cope with the living arrangements at Max Gate, particularly the presence of Lilian Gifford. Although evidence suggests that Hardy had proposed marriage to Florence Dugdale in April 1913, the marriage did not take place until after Hardy

acquiesced, in early 1914, to Florence's demand that Lilian leave Max Gate.

Hardy, always sensitive to incursions on his privacy, sought to keep the wedding itself a secret, informing no one other than immediate family of the upcoming marriage. The ceremony was itself held on 10 February 1914 at the Enfield Parish Church, the only witnesses being Henry Hardy and Florence's father and sister. The occasion seems to have been perceived by Hardy and Florence with mixed emotions. While Hardy told Lady Grove that 'the quiet old church, &c. were not without romance',[36] his remarks to Cockerell (noted above) and others such as Frederic Harrison were decidedly less romantic: 'It may seem odd to you, but the sense of continuity through her having been attached to my late wife is not the least part of my satisfaction.'[37] And while Florence no doubt saw the potential benefits of marriage to Hardy – avoiding 'the alternative prospect of becoming an old maid and eking out a meagre living by various forms of secretarial and literary drudgery'[38] – she was also motivated by her admiration and deep affection for Hardy. Shortly after the wedding, Florence expressed her feelings for Hardy in a letter to Leonie Gifford (above), 'With respect to my husband, I think it is no secret to any of our friends that for years I have had for him the greatest reverence & admiration which has deepened into true affection. I count it the greatest privilege a woman could have to be able to make the care of him my sole object in life'.

**59 Florence Hardy with her French bulldog, in the garden at Max Gate. Early 1930s. A reproduction of an original photograph.**

Having spent so much time at Max Gate while Emma was alive, the realities of life there could not have come as a surprise to Florence. Her day to day existence at Max Gate – Hardy's absorption in his work meaning that she was left alone for long periods, his 'increasing tenderness to Emma's memory' becoming a source of constant irritation, his infatuation with Gertrude Bugler causing real distress – combined with the demands of her role as housekeeper, secretary, and sometimes nurse, greatly exacerbated Florence's fundamentally melancholy temperament. She was capable of 'descents deep into melancholy, impulsive confidences to people believed to be sympathetic, and suspicions, jealousies, and resentments'.[39] However, her marriage provided her with financial security and social opportunities – she formed lasting friendships with James Barrie, T.E. Lawrence, and Siegfried Sassoon – and she was able to continue her journalistic work, writing occasional reviews for the *Sphere*. Her marriage to Hardy 'remained amicable and affectionate' until his death in January 1928. She expressed the depth of her grief and sense of loss in a poignant letter to T.E. Lawrence in March 1928: 'Time will not help me for I know my own nature, and I shall miss him more and more. The thought of years that may have to be lived through without him fills me with terror. There was really nothing in my life except T.H. nor will there ever be.'[40]

After Hardy's death Florence remained at Max Gate, devoting much of her time to managing Hardy's literary estate, maintaining the house and grounds, and taking a more active role in local activities in Dorchester. She kept in touch with friends such as Barrie, Lawrence, and Sassoon, and formed new friendships with writers such as Arthur Pinero and Adelaide Phillpotts, as well as with Hardy scholars and collectors such as Richard Little Purdy and Frederick Baldwin Adams. In the spring of 1937 she was diagnosed with cancer and she died at Max Gate in October 1937, at the age of fifty-eight.

## 'A CHANGED MAN' – POETRY & SHORT STORIES

'Poetry is emotion put into measure. The emotion must come by nature, but the measure can be acquired by art.'
(Thomas Hardy. *Life and Work*)

To gauge the level of Hardy's frustration with publishing fiction following the incredibly hostile reviews of both *Tess* and *Jude,* one need look no further than his chapter headings in *Life and Work* covering that period – '"Tess", "Jude" and the End of Prose', 'Another Novel Finished, Mutilated and Restored'. *Jude* was the last novel that Hardy wrote, and with the exception of a few stories, he published no new fiction after *The Well-Beloved* appeared in 1897. He explained that verse allowed him a freedom of expression that prose did not. 'Poetry. Perhaps I can express more fully in verse ideas and emotions which run counter to the inert crystallized opinion … if Galileo had said in verse that the world moved, the Inquisition might have let him alone'.[1] Over the remaining thirty years of his life, he resumed 'openly that form of it [writing] which had always been more instinctive with him'[2] and produced eight volumes of poetry – the last published shortly after his death in 1928.

60 **Thomas Hardy. *Wessex Tales, Strange, Lively, and Commonplace.* First edition. London: Macmillan and Co., 1888. In two volumes.**

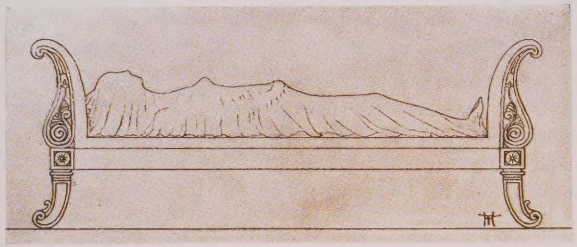
When it was first published in May 1888, *Wessex Tales,* Hardy's first collection of short stories, contained five stories written between 1878 and 1887: 'The Three Strangers,' 'The Withered Arm,' 'Fellow-Townsman,' 'Interlopers at the Knap,' and 'The Distracted Preacher'. Hardy added a sixth story, 'An Imaginative Woman', to the 1896 Osgood McIlvaine edition, but in the subsequent Wessex Edition (1912) it was removed and two other stories were relocated from *Life's Little Ironies,* bringing the final number of stories in *Wessex Tales* to seven. All of the stories in *Wessex Tales* had been published previously in newspapers or magazines. As the title suggests, the stories are 'predominantly local and historical, drawing heavily on regional customs, traditions and folk beliefs'.[3]

61 **Thomas Hardy. *Wessex Poems and Other Verses. With Thirty Illustrations by the Author.* London: Harper & Brothers, 1898.**

**Illustration drawn by Hardy for the poem 'Thoughts of Phena, at news of her death.'**

A diary entry of Hardy's in February 1897 indicates that before the publication of *The Well-Beloved,* he had been planning a volume of poems, tentatively titled *Wessex Poems: With Sketches of their Scenes by the Author.*[4] It is worth noting that, despite his abandonment of prose, his choice of title for his first volume of poetry indicates a conscious decision on Hardy's part to connect this volume to his familiar and successful 'fictional construct' of Wessex.

With the publication of *Wessex Poems* in December 1898, Hardy publicly signalled the end of his career as a novelist, the experiences of the 'few preceding years having killed all his interest in this form of imaginative work, which had ever been secondary to his interest in verse'. *Wessex Poems,* Hardy's first significant publication as a poet, contained fifty-one poems written over a wide range of years, some of them predating his earliest novels, while a few were 'written quite recently'.[5] The poems were stylistically eclectic, with the verse 'often cast in traditional forms', but 'peppered with bleak and ungainly negatives'.[6] Although Hardy had taken an interest in the illustrations that appeared in the serialization of his novels, *Wessex Poems* occupies



a unique place in Hardy's work as it contains (including the frontispiece) thirty-one pen and ink illustrations drawn by Hardy himself. He alluded to them in a letter to Florence Henniker in September 1898, telling her that 'the "mysterious occupation" (which I have now finished) is one you will not have guessed I think. It has been the making of some sketches in possible illustration of some verses of mine which I think now of publishing'.[7] The drawings themselves do not necessarily illustrate the incidents in the poems, 'instead they act as enigmatic economical commentaries on the poetic themes'.[8] One illustration, a rather unsettling image of a corpse of a woman lying on a bier, accompanied the poem that Hardy wrote about his cousin, Tryphena Sparks, 'on news of her death'. According to Hardy, he had Tryphena Sparks in mind when he began this poem while on a train in March 1890. Unaware that she was dying, Hardy felt 'it was a curious instance of sympathetic telepathy' and didn't finish the poem until after her death several days later.[9]

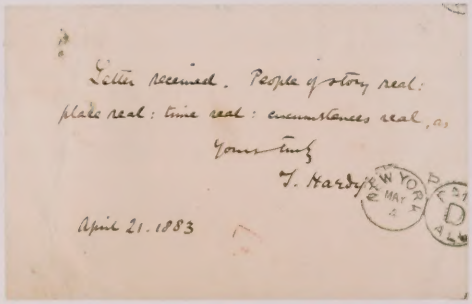
Critical reaction to *Wessex Poems* was mixed, some commentators, like Meredith, wondering, 'What induces Hardy to commit himself to verse?' On the whole the response to the illustrations was more positive, the reviewer for the *Glasgow Herald* declaring that the sketches not only helped to 'give force to the poetry' but were 'themselves poems'.[10] For his part, Hardy felt that the reviewers '*could not* look clearly into it, by reason of the aforesaid obsession of the idea that novel-writing was [his] trade, and no other. There were those prose works standing in a row in front, catching the eye at every attempt to see the poetry, and forming an almost impenetrable screen'.[11]

**62 Thomas Hardy. *Wessex Poems and Other Verses.* First Canadian edition. Toronto: George N. Morang & Company, 1899.**

There is very little available information about either the publication or the distribution of Hardy's work in Canada during the author's lifetime. In 1921 Hardy responded to a question from Frederick Macmillan about Canadian publication: 'I have looked over my old agreements with and letters from and to the Messrs Harper, and can only find it definitely stated that they have rights in that country in the following books ... *Jude the Obscure* ... *The Well Beloved. Wessex Poems. Poems of the Past and the Present. A changed man*', adding, 'Before *Tess*, there was no copyright, of course. But I think they used to put in a clause about "Control of the Canadian market" in reference to advance sheets before copyright.'[12] In the case of *Wessex Poems* it appears that Harper made an arrangement with the Canadian publisher Morang, as this Canadian edition consists of the sheets of the U.S. Harper & Brothers edition (with a cancel title) bound in an attractive pictorial cloth binding identical to that of the U.S. edition. The only other Canadian edition of a Hardy title published during the author's lifetime was an unauthorized printing of the short story 'The Melancholy Hussar' issued by Toronto publisher William Bryce in 1890.

**63 Thomas Hardy autograph postcard to Mary J. Remann, 21 April 1883. 'Letter received. People of story real; place real: time real: circumstances real, as – Yours truly, Thomas Hardy.'**

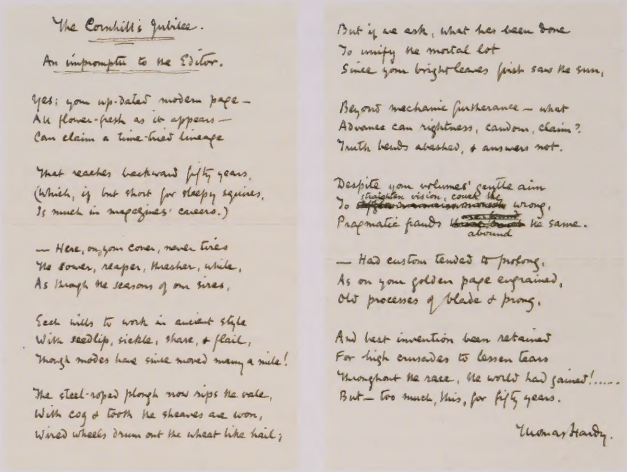
As readers came to identify the 'Wessex' of Hardy's fiction with actual places located in and around Dorset, Hardy began to receive inquiries from readers requesting clarification about such locations – and, on occasion, information about the background of the stories themselves. Aware that the identification with 'Wessex' was in fact important for 'marketing' his work, Hardy usually responded positively, if not always in great detail, to this type of query. Given the



April 1883 date of the autograph note shown here, it seems likely that Hardy's short but unequivocal reply to this American reader was in response to questions about the characters and plot of his short story 'The Three Strangers', which had recently appeared in the United States in *Harper's Weekly*.[13] Hardy's reply affirms the ending of the story itself, which refers to the 'survival of the story among the local populace' and also confirms the idea that his stories have their basis in fact.

**64 Thomas Hardy. *Poems of the Past and the Present.* First American edition. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1902.**

Published in an edition of five hundred copies, the American edition of Hardy's second collection of poems was published in December 1901, a month after the London edition. The volume contains 'ninety-nine poems, almost twice as many as had comprised Hardy's first volume three years before', and is divided into five sections – 'War Poems', 'Poems of Pilgrimage', 'Miscellaneous Poems', 'Imitations, Etc'., and 'Retrospect'. The largest section, 'Miscellaneous Poems', containing sixty-seven poems, includes love lyrics such as 'A Broken Appointment', which 'reflect his eroticized relationship with Florence Henniker'.[14] The eleven poems that comprise the 'War Poems' section, including 'Drummer Hodge', 'Going to the Battery' and 'The Christmas Ghost-Story', were written in response to the Boer War. In a letter to Florence Henniker in October 1899, Hardy explained his views about the war and the poetry it inspired: 'I constantly deplore the fact that "civilized" nations have not learnt some more excellent & apostolic way of settling disputes than the old & barbarous one, after all these centuries; but when I feel that it must be, few persons are more martial than I, or like better to write of war in prose & rhyme.'[15] The volume received mixed reviews, with some commentators finding Hardy's 'diction clumsy, his neologisms ugly, his mood unvarying' while others commented that he was a 'profoundly interesting poet', 'an unbelieving mystic'.[16]


The Cornhill's Jubilee.

An impromptu to the Editor.

Yes: you up-dated modern page –
All flower-fresh as it appears –
Can claim a time-tried lineage

That reaches backward fifty years.
(Which, if but short for sleepy squires,
Is much in magazines' careers.)

– Here, on your cover, never tires
The sower, reaper, thresher, while,
As through the seasons of our sires,

Seen wills to work in ancient style
With seedlip, sickle, share, & flail,
Though modes have since moved many a mile!

The steel-roped plough now rips the vale,
With cog & tooth the sheaves are won,
Wired wheels drum out the wheat like hail;

But if we ask, what has been done
To unify the mortal lot
Since your bright leaves first saw the sun,

Beyond mechanic furtherance – what
Advance on rightness, candour, claim?
Truth bends abashed, & answers not.

Despite your volumes' gentle aim
To [illegible] vision, cured the
To [illegible] wrong,
Pragmatic fraud [illegible] the same.

– Had custom turned to prefering,
As on your golden page engrained,
Old processes of blade & prong,

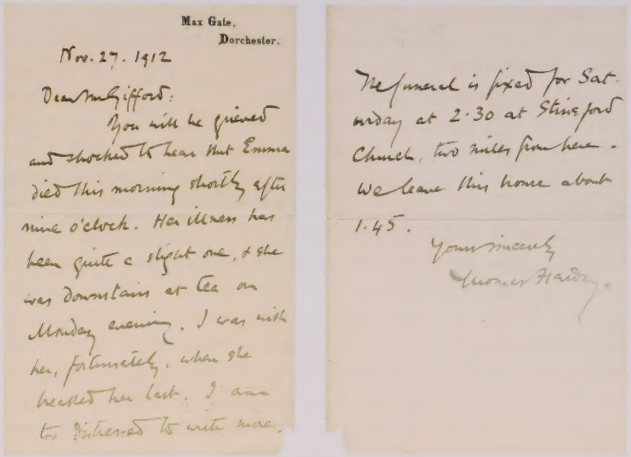
And best invention been retained
For high crusades to lessen tears
Throughout the race, the world had gained!.....
But– too much, this, for fifty years.

Thomas Hardy.

**65 Thomas Hardy. *The Cornhill Jubilee.* Autograph fair copy of the poem with autograph revisions to stanza eight; first revise (proof) with autograph revisions including an additional stanza; and three autograph letters to Reginald Smith, editor of the *Cornhill Magazine*, documenting the writing of the poem for the fiftieth anniversary of the magazine and its publication in the 'Jubilee edition' of the *Cornhill*, January 1910.**

Hardy's association with the *Cornhill Magazine* dated back to the serialization of *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1874) and *The Hand of Ethelberta* (1876), both published under the watchful eye of then editor, Leslie Stephen. In 1909, Reginald Smith, the editor of the *Cornhill*, asked Hardy if he would contribute a poem for inclusion in a special 'Jubilee edition' celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the magazine. In his response of 24 October, (shown here) Hardy tells Smith: 'After thinking for two days that I was quite unable to say anything suitable for your Jubilee number, I suddenly thought of what I enclose – its suitability being a matter of doubt. I am afraid it is not quite urbane enough for the occasion …'[17] While Smith was quite pleased with the poem, asking if he might keep the original

manuscript, Hardy's revisions on the proofs indicate that he was not entirely satisfied with his initial effort. In his letter of 29 October Hardy provides an explanation for the changes in phrasing and the addition of a stanza: 'I have written in a few lines which I think a little more emphasize the Cornhill's efforts …'[18] The poem appeared as 'An Impromptu to the Editor' in the Jubilee number of the *Cornhill* on 10 January 1910. When it was published in the volume of verse *Satires of Circumstance*, Hardy changed the title to 'The Jubilee of a Magazine', revised several lines and omitted the final stanza which he had added to the proofs for the magazine appearance.[19]


Max Gate,
Dorchester.

Nov. 27. 1912

Dear Mr Gifford:

You will be grieved and shocked to hear that Emma died this morning shortly after nine o'clock. Her illness has been quite a slight one, & she was downstairs at tea on Monday evening. I was with her, fortunately, when she breathed her last. I am too distressed to write more.

The funeral is fixed for Saturday at 2.30 at Stinsford Church, two miles from here. We leave this house about 1.45.

Yours sincerely
Thomas Hardy.

**66 Thomas Hardy, autograph letter to Charles Edwin Gifford, Max Gate, Dorchester, 27 November 1912. On mourning stationery.**

**67 Thomas Hardy. *Satires of Circumstance. Lyrics and Reveries.* First edition. London: Macmillan & Co., 1914.**

As noted previously, Emma's death on 27 November 1912 seems to have taken Hardy and her family by surprise. Hardy's shock at the suddenness of her death is apparent in the letter (shown here) he sent to her cousin, Charles Gifford, that same day – 'You will be grieved and shocked to hear that Emma died this morning shortly after nine o' clock. Her illness has been quite a slight one … I was with her, fortunately, when she breathed her last. I am too distressed to write more'. Published in December 1914, two years after Emma's death, *Satires of Circumstance* contained 107 poems, which Hardy divided into four sections titled, 'Lyrics and Reveries,' 'Satires of Circumstance', 'Poems of 1912–13', and 'Miscellaneous Poems'.[20]

If Emma's death was unexpected, equally unanticipated was Hardy's reaction, given the degree to which his relationship with Emma had disintegrated. In the years since their move to Max Gate, Hardy had been increasingly frustrated by Emma's fits of jealousy and fervent religiosity – while Emma, constantly at odds with Hardy's family, believed that she had been overshadowed by Hardy's fame, and excluded from both his work and social circle. But with her death Hardy was 'overcome with grief, remorse, and nostalgia for a past that had gone for ever' and his discovery and reading of Emma's reminiscence of their courtship, made him realize that Emma had not forgotten their Cornish romance'.[21] The creative burst that followed Emma's death was nothing short of astonishing – in death, Emma became the 'poetic muse' that she never was in life. All but five of the 115 poems that Hardy wrote about Emma were written after her death, the first eighteen published in *Satires of Circumstance*, under the heading 'Poems of 1912–13'. Poems such as 'The Going' and 'The Voice' are profound expressions of grief and loss, while others such as 'Beeny Cliff' and 'The Phantom Horsewoman' recall the time of their courtship in Cornwall.[22]

Despite the mixed reviews of the volume itself, critics praised the 'deeply personal' poems of 1912–13 – one describing them as 'the most musically and suggestively beautiful poems that Hardy ever wrote'.[23] Writing on Hardy's poetry, C. Day Lewis noted that 'Almost all his finest poems are deeply, nakedly personal … I believe the best of these 1912–13 poems to be some of the finest love poetry in our language'.[24]

**68 Thomas Hardy. *Song of the Soldiers*. Reprinted from *The Times* of 9 September 1914. Hove, 1915. [Private Circulation Only]**

Hardy had written about war long before the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. He had written several poems in response to the Boer War, and his ongoing interest in the Napoleonic wars was reflected in his novel *The Trumpet-Major* (1880) and his epic verse drama *The Dynasts*. When war erupted in 1914, Hardy and other writers such as Arthur Conan Doyle, H.G. Wells, John Galsworthy, and G.K Chesterton were asked to undertake a literary propaganda effort. Although Hardy joined his fellow authors in signing a 'statement of British war aims' that was published in *The Times* on 10 September 1914,[25] in private he expressed his horror at the war, writing to Sydney Cockerell: 'As for myself, the recognition that we are living in a more brutal age than that, say, of Elizabeth, ....does not inspire one to write hopeful poetry, or even conjectural prose, but simply make one sit still in an apathy, & watch the clock spinning backwards, with a mild wonder if, when it gets back to the Dark Ages, & the sack of Rome, it will ever move forward again to a new Renascence, & a new literature.'[26]

Individual literary contributions were also encouraged and 'one of the first and best efforts of the initiative'[27] was Hardy's poem, 'Song of the Soldiers' (later retitled 'Men who March Away'). Published in *The Times* on 9 September, it exemplified much of the patriotic intention of the poetry produced during the first months of the war. Hardy donated a fair copy of the poem to a sale held at Christie's for the benefit of the Red Cross. As neither Hardy nor *The Times* reserved the copyright, the poem was much reprinted. Florence Hardy replied to a request from E. Williams, the Brighton (Hove) bookseller, that 'her husband had no objection to the poem being reprinted' and Williams promptly 'reprinted it in a bewildering variety of forms'.[28]

**69 Thomas Hardy. *Moments of Vision and Miscellaneous Verses*. First edition. London: Macmillan, 1917.**

This is Hardy's fifth and largest collection of verse, containing 159 poems, almost all of which were written between 1913 and 1916[29] and are reflective of the two major events affecting him during this period: the death of his wife Emma and the outbreak and continuation of the First World War.

The loss of Emma as well as memories of her continued to preoccupy Hardy during this time, and of the thirty poems about her included in this volume, twenty-three were written after the publication of *Satires of Circumstance*. The poems inspired by Emma in this volume are, in fact, part of the continuing 'outpouring of grief, regret and memory', which pervades both *Satires of Circumstance* and *Moments of Vision*. In the remainder of the poems, excluding the 'Poems of Patriotism and War', Hardy continues his consideration of the past, with poems focusing on 'his family, his childhood, his friends, and Time itself'.[30]

In contrast, the seventeen poems headed 'Poems of War and Patriotism' were very much inspired by the present. Although at the outset Hardy had publicly supported the war effort, as hostilities dragged on and the casualties mounted, including the death of his beloved cousin Frank George at Gallipoli, Hardy's antipathy to war and doubts about patriotism were reflected in his correspondence and poetry. Writing to Florence Henniker after the death of his cousin, Hardy confessed 'My "faith" in the good there is in "humankind" – except in isolated individuals ... has been rudely shaken of late'[31] and writing about 'the soldiers' to Cockerell a few days later, 'they do not realize the imbecility of our Ministers or the treachery of sections of the press which try to make political capital out of the country's needs'.[32] By the end of 1916, Hardy admitted to being 'much depressed by the apparent remoteness of peace ... though I suppose one must not say so openly'.[33] Not surprisingly, the 'Poems of War and Patriotism' included in this volume are quite dark, expressing 'deeper doubts – indeed, a sense of tragic waste and futility'.[34]

**70 Thomas Hardy. *Life's Little Ironies. A Set of Tales with Some Colloquial Sketches Titled A Few Crusted Characters*. First edition. London: Osgoode, McIlvaine & Co., [1894.]**

The first edition of *Life's Little Ironies*, the third of Hardy's four collections of short stories, includes nine stories mostly written

between 1888 and 1891, the same period in which he produced *Tess*, 'unmistakably his finest novel', as well as two critical essays, 'Candour in English Fiction' and 'The Science of Fiction'.[35] The stories, 'connected by similarities of theme', had all been published previously in serial form, and were only slightly revised by Hardy for their inclusion here; the exception being *On the Western Circuit*, which was restored to its original state from the severely bowdlerized version that had appeared in *The English Illustrated Magazine*.[36] The restoration of the sexual content of that story, along with the rather explicit treatment of sexuality in the volume overall, caused William Archer, writing in the *Daily Chronicle*, to accuse Hardy of 'introducing into English fiction a note of sensuality' and to suggest that the book should be 'suppressed'.[37] Despite Archer's views, the critical response to the volume was largely positive, one reviewer describing 'A Tragedy of Two Ambitions' as 'perhaps the subtlest of all the examples Mr. Hardy has dramatized'.[38] From a commercial standpoint, the volume was hugely successful, with the first edition selling out a week before publication. During his revisions for the 1912 Wessex Edition, Hardy reordered the position of three of the stories in order to 'give shape and coherence to the collections in which the stories appeared'[39]: 'An Imaginative Woman' was moved from *Wessex Tales* to *Life's Little Ironies*, which in turn, lost 'A Tradition of Eighteen Hundred and Four' and 'The Melancholy Hussar' to *Wessex Tales*.

**71 Florence Henniker (1855–1923). *In Scarlet and Grey, Stories of Soldiers and Others by Florence Henniker and The Spectre of the Real by Thomas Hardy and Florence Henniker.* First edition. Boston: Roberts Bros., 1896. 'Keynote Series.'**

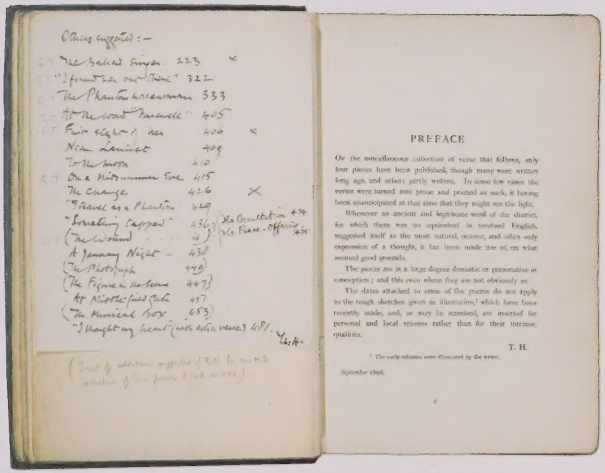
Written with Florence Henniker in 1893, 'The Spectre of the Real' occupies a unique place in Hardy's *oeuvre* as his only publicly acknowledged collaborative effort, which 'had its origins in the special nature of the relationship with his co-author'.[40] Florence Henniker was the daughter of Richard Monckton Milnes, 1st Lord Houghton, who had known Hardy since the 1880s and was also a friend of Tennyson, Thackeray, and Swinburne. An admirer of Hardy's work, Mrs. Henniker had herself published three quite successful novels when they first met in 1893. Always susceptible to the charms of attractive women, Hardy was immediately taken with the 'handsome, assured and elegantly dressed' Mrs. Henniker, whom he described as a 'charming, *intuitive* woman'.[41] In the hope of fostering a romantic relationship, he began to correspond with her, the topics of their letters ranging from literature to architectural history. Hardy grasped at any excuse for a meeting – on one occasion going so far as to arrange to take her on a 'conducted tour of Westminster Abbey and other buildings nearby' and telling her that 'oral instruction in actual buildings is, of course, a much more rapid and effectual method than from books, and you must not think it will be any trouble to me'.[42] For her part, while she did not reciprocate Hardy's romantic feelings, she found his attentions flattering, and was also keenly aware that any collaboration with Hardy would enhance her own literary reputation. When it became clear to Hardy that Mrs. Henniker did not share his romantic feelings, he confessed, 'I cannot help wishing you were free from certain retrograde superstitions' and promised to 'think over the scheme of our collaborating in the talked of story'.[43]

The story (at first titled 'Desire'), started sometime in early September 1893, was a completely collaborative process, with both Hardy and Henniker actively participating in the writing and revision. It was not, however, without problems, as Hardy became frustrated by the tone of Mrs. Henniker's fiction, which 'suffers from her adherence to convention'.[44] The two disagreed over the nature of the ending of the story, with Hardy finally asserting 'on no account must it end weakly'[45] and assuring her that 'all the wickedness (if it has any) will be laid upon my unfortunate head, while the tender & proper parts will be attributed to you'.[46] The completed story, retitled 'Spectre of the Real', was sent off in October 1893 for publication in Jerome K. Jerome's weekly *To-Day*, where it appeared a full year later in November 1894. It was later collected and slightly revised by Mrs. Henniker in 1896 for inclusion in the volume above, which was the first time the story appeared in the United States bearing her name as well as Hardy's. As Hardy predicted, the negative comments in reviews were directed toward him – one reviewer noted the story was 'marred by those deflections from good taste which seem to have

become characteristic of Mr. Hardy's later art'.[47] While this was their only literary collaboration, Mrs. Henniker continued to exert an influence on Hardy's work, as Sue Bridehead is said to have been based to some extent on Mrs. Henniker and their relationship is alluded to in a number of Hardy's poems.

**72 Thomas Hardy. *Collected Poems of Thomas Hardy.* First edition. London: Macmillan and Co., 1919. Publisher's blind-stamped 'Presentation Copy' on the titlepage. Siegfried Sassoon's copy with his annotations and marginal notes. With an inserted one-page autograph list of Hardy's poems signed (with initials) by Hardy, and with a holograph note by Sassoon below: 'List of additions suggested by T.H. to an M.S. selection of his poems I had made.'**

Siegfried Sassoon (1886–1967) had long admired Hardy's work, and told his uncle, the sculptor Hamo Thornycroft, 'that after some gruelling experience in the trenches he would sit down calmly to read


Others suggested :–
"The Ballad Singer." 223
"I found her out there" 322
The Phantom Horsewoman 333
"The Lacking Sacrament" 405
Four Sight Seers 408
Neutral Tones 409
To Lizbie 410
On a Midsummer Eve 415
The Change 416
"I have met a Phantom" 419
"Something Tapped" 436
The Unborn 437
A January Night 438
The Blinded Bird 440
The Figure in Scarlet 447
At Middlefield Gate 451
The Musical Box 453
"I thought my heart" (with other verses) 458

PREFACE

Of the miscellaneous collection of verse that follows, only four pieces have been published, though many were written long ago, and others lately written. In some few cases the verses were turned into prose and printed as such, it having been unanticipated at that time that they might see the light.

Whenever an ancient and legitimate word of the district, for which there was no equivalent in received English, suggested itself as the most natural, neatest, and often only expression of a thought, it has been made use of, on what seemed good grounds.

The pieces are in a large degree dramatic or personative in conception; and this even where they are not obviously so.

The dates attached to some of the poems do not apply to the rough sketches given in illustration,[1] which have been recently made, and, as may be surmised, are inserted for personal and local reasons rather than for their intrinsic qualities.

T. H.

[1] The early minutes were discussed by the writer.

September 1898.

1

and told his uncle, the sculptor Hamo Thornycroft, 'that after some gruelling experience in the trenches he would sit down calmly to read Hardy's *Selected Poems*, which he carried in his pocket'.[48] After Sassoon dedicated his book of war poems, *The Old Huntsman*, to Hardy in 1917 they began a correspondence which continued throughout the war, with Hardy often commenting on poetry that Sassoon had sent him – 'thank you for the volume of Georgian Poetry containing some of your work. I see one or two I like'[49] and 'we have read out loud the poems you mention, & liked them. Perhaps R. Nichols brings off his intention best in "To__", & "Fulfilment." But it is impossible to select, after all'.[50] Shortly after sending Hardy a copy of *Counter-Attack and Other Poems*, Sassoon finally met him at Max Gate in November 1918. Both Hardy and Florence were quite taken with the young poet and a friendship developed – he became Hardy's '*adored* young friend',[51] Hardy telling Florence that 'I wrote my poems for men like Siegfried Sassoon'.[52] In 1919 Sassoon delivered the 'Poet's Tribute' to Hardy, a collection of manuscript poems by forty-three contemporary poets to commemorate his 79th birthday. Over the last ten years of Hardy's life, Sassoon was a regular visitor to Max Gate, often accompanied by other young writers such as Robert Graves, Edmund Blunden, and T.E. Lawrence.

The annotations and inserted material in Sassoon's copy of *The Collected Poems* are indicative of the relationship between the two poets. Sassoon's annotations and marginalia reflect his ongoing interest and appreciation for Hardy's poetry – an interest clearly welcomed by Hardy, who took the time to send a list drawing eighteen of the poems to Sassoon's attention, denoting with a 'G.T'. those that had appeared earlier in *Selected Poems*, part of the Golden Treasury Series. Some of Sassoon's annotations provide information that could only have been supplied by Hardy or Florence – such as his holograph addition on the title page of a quotation from Job, 'That which I have seen I will declare', with the note 'T.H. thought of putting these words here'. Sassoon has also transcribed a verse from Fitzgerald and notes that 'T.H. asked F.H. to read him these lines a few days before he died. She also read him the whole of "Rabbi Ben Ezra" at his request'.

**73 Three original portraits of Thomas Hardy by William Strang, 'Thomas Hardy No. 1' [1894]; 'Thomas Hardy No. 2' [1894]; 'Thomas Hardy No. 3' [1896] Proof copies of the etchings, signed in pencil by Strang.**

During his lifetime, some forty artists produced images of Hardy – these included oil paintings, sculptures, drawings, and etchings. While some were caricatures such as the one by 'Spy' that appeared in *Vanity Fair* in 1892, most were formal portraits, which involved Hardy 'sitting' for the artist. From the 1890s through to the early 1920s, the Scottish artist, William Strang (1859–1921), executed some ten portraits of Hardy – two oil paintings plus drawings and etchings. Hardy sat for Strang at Max Gate in August of 1892 and was pleased with the resulting portrait, reporting to John Lane 'it seems to me to be an excellent specimen of Mr Strang's work'.[53] Strang's etchings of Hardy are among the most familiar images of the author – with one used as the frontispiece to the Mellstock edition and 'No. 1' reproduced as the frontispiece to Lionel Johnson's *The Art of Thomas Hardy*.

## 'HARDY ON STAGE'

Despite his frequent dismissive comments on contemporary drama and the stage conventions governing its performance, Hardy was throughout his life a committed and informed theatre-goer. Nor was he in theory hostile to the adaptation of his own fiction for the stage, even going so far as to sketch out brief scenarios for possible use by the many theatre professionals who expressed interest in dramatizing his novels, and constructing a complete one-act play, *The Three Wayfarers* (1893) from his short story 'The Three Strangers' (1888). *Far from the Madding Crowd* and *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* were, however, the only novels from which he himself created full dramatizations. The first of these, prepared in conjunction with the critic and dramatist J. Comyns Carr, resulted in not only a production (1882) but a plagiarism controversy with Arthur Wing Pinero, whose own recent play, *The Squire*, seemed suspiciously close in plot detail to the Hardy-Comyns Carr adaptation.[1] This early theatrical contretemps did not, a decade later, dissuade Hardy from adapting *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* for the stage. But it was not until 1925, thirty years after its initial preparation and only three years before his death, that a version of this *Tess* adaptation finally found its way to a professional stage.

Circumscribed as Hardy's own attempts to adapt his fiction for the stage were, he did for many years show a benign interest in the activities of a group of local Dorchester amateur actors whom he allowed to present, for charitable purposes, adaptations of his novels made by two local residents, A. H. Evans and T. H. Tilley. The first of these productions to be performed before appreciative local audiences by what became known, somewhat ambiguously, as 'The Hardy Players' was a dramatization of *The Trumpet-Major*, staged in 1908; the last was their 1924 production of *Tess*, which preceded the professional London production.

Hardy's most substantial engagement with drama as a genre came during the many years he spent writing what both he and some of his contemporaries came to regard as his finest achievement: *The Dynasts: An Epic-Drama of the War with Napoleon, in Three Parts,*

*Nineteen Acts, & One Hundred & Thirty Scenes.* As he acknowledged in his Preface to this ambitious work, 'The Dynasts is intended simply for mental performance, and not for the stage'. But the exigencies of war and the suitability of *The Dynasts* to enlistment for patriotic purposes meant that a much-shortened adaptation, made by Harley Granville-Barker and comprising primarily those scenes foregrounding British military prowess, was brought to the London stage within a few weeks of the outbreak of hostilities in 1914.

The only original work intended by Hardy from its inception specifically for stage performance was the one-act poetic drama, *The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall*, premiered by the Hardy Players in 1923. Its sub-titular description tacitly reveals both the idiosyncrasy of Hardy's dramatic inclinations and the reason for the play's puzzled reception and infrequent production: 'A New Version of an Old Story Arranged as a Play for Mummers in One Act Requiring No Theatre or Scenery'.

74 **Programme. '*The Trumpet-Major*' A New Play in Four Acts Adapted from Mr. Thomas Hardy's Novel of That Title. Presented by the Dorchester Debating Society, November 18th & 19th, 1908... at The Corn Exchange. With two original photographs of scenes from the play, from the album of Walter Bawler, member of the Hardy Players. With an advertisement of A.M. Broadley's lecture 'Napoleon and the Invasion of England'.**

**Thomas Hardy, autograph note to Walter Bawler dated 20 November 1908.**

**A Souvenir of the Performances of the Play adapted from Mr. Thos. Hardy's Novel *The Trumpet-Major.* Presented by the Dorchester Debating, Literary, and Dramatic Society, November 18 and 19, 1908, in The Corn Exchange, Dorchester. Adapted by A.H. Evans.**

The Hardy Players evolved as an offshoot of the Dorchester Debating, Literary, and Dramatic Society, one of the longest established of the county town's cultural organizations. When the author and lecturer A. M. Broadley gave his talk on 'Napoleon and the Invasion of England' in February 1908 (see advertisement), it was accompanied by an enactment of the Overcombe Mill party scene from *The Trumpet-Major*. This led to the adaptation of the whole novel by A. H. Evans, a Dorchester chemist and leading light in the dramatic sub-section of the Debating Society. His script was performed, as the first full Hardy play, on 18 and 19 November 1908 (see programme).

Walter Bawler, from whose collection of Hardy Players material most of these items are taken, was a Dorchester solicitor who became one of the most popular members of the group for both his comic skills and command of authentic Dorset dialect. He played Miller Loveday.

In a letter (16 November 1908) to the drama critic, Harold Child, Hardy suggested the kind of appeal the 'artless' production had for a local audience '[T]he great grandparents of the actors (many of them) were the real actors more or less in the scenes depicted ... & of course, are themselves continuators of the dialect, humours, &c., of the personages. An amusing thing is that the Mayor of Dorchester plays Cripplestraw, the Mayor's sister Matilda Johnson, a former Mayor's son is the trumpet major himself, & Anne is a former Mayor's daughter: & the real pikes, firelocks, &c. of the events are to be used I am told.'[2] This claim to authenticity was a central part of the group's appeal, for both Dorchester audiences and, in subsequent years, for those attending performances given in London on behalf of the Society of Dorset Men.

75 **Programme. 'The Mellstock Quire' Presented by the Dorchester Debating and Dramatic Society at the Cripplegate Institute, London... 1st December, 1910 under the auspices of The Society of Dorset Men In London.**

**Three original photographs depicting scenes from the 1910 production of *The Mellstock Quire.***

**Original photograph of the 'Hardy Players' on Bowling Green at Melcombe Bingham, 16 June 16 1921. Depicting the dance in the wedding scene from *The Mellstock Quire.***

After the great success of 'The Trumpet-Major,' A. H. Evans turned his hand to an adaptation of *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1909), the first of the Hardy plays to travel beyond Dorchester for additional performances in London and Weymouth. This was followed in 1910 by a dramatization, again by Evans, of *Under the Greenwood Tree*, for which the novel's sub-title, 'The Mellstock Quire,' was at Hardy's suggestion adopted. The scheduled Dorchester performances on 16 and 17 November proved so popular that an extra performance was added on 18 November, with the now customary performance in London following on 1 December. The opening performance on 16 November was attended by Hardy and preceded by a ceremony at which he was given the Freedom of the Borough of Dorchester. While Hardy's direct involvement with the production was less substantial than implied in the brief memoir written by Evans' daughter (Evelyn L. Evans, *My Father Produced Hardy's Plays* [Toucan Press, 1964]), he did attend a number of rehearsals and offer advice on both the play's structure and the choice of musical components, including the three carols sung during the performance.

**76 Programme. The New Hardy Play, 1913. *'The Woodlanders,' A New Play in Three Acts*, by A.H. Evans (Adapted from Mr. Thomas Hardy's Novel of that title)...presented by the Dorchester Debating and Dramatic Society, At the Corn Exchange, Dorchester... Nov. 19th & 20th, 1913.**

While rural comedy had from its inception been both a primary component of the Hardy Players' appeal and a genre well-suited to their talents as amateur actors, it was perhaps inevitable that they would eventually have to wrestle with whether or not to attempt dramatizations of any of Hardy's great tragic novels. For the two productions after 'The Mellstock Quire,' they found expedients that avoided confronting this question. In 1911, Hardy allowed them to stage his own 1893 one-act play *The Three Wayfarers*, on a double-bill with an adaptation by Evans of another Hardy short story, 'The Distracted Preacher'. Evans' removal to London had begun to complicate somewhat his overseeing of productions, which led to the decision to make 1912's offering a revised revival of 'The Trumpet-Major'. But with the following year's dramatization by Evans of *The Woodlanders*, the Players faced perhaps the biggest challenge they had yet set themselves. Fortunately, they had by then been joined by a new young actress who, though no less of an amateur than her more senior colleagues, was to transform the extent and nature of the by now national media attention they received.

**77 Studio Portrait of Gertrude Bugler by Bernard Griffin, Dorchester, n.d.**

Gertrude Bugler, the daughter of a Dorchester confectioner, enjoyed her first success with the Hardy Players when as a sixteen-year-old she was cast as Marty South in the 1913 production of 'The Woodlanders'. This was the Players' last major production before suspension of these annual performances for the duration of the First World War. It was for Bugler a major triumph, eliciting from newspapers both substantial pre-production attention and encomiastic reviews. That in the *Daily News* proved almost uncannily prescient: 'the performance will probably be remembered by most people as a setting for the début of Miss Gertrude Bugler ... should the Dorchester players, greatly daring, ever attempt the grand tragedy of "Tess," a mature, more passion-wise Gertrude Bugler might ...

achieve the greatest dramatic triumph the Corn Exchange here has known.'(*Daily News*, 20 November, 1913).

78 **Thomas Hardy. *The Dynasts: An Epic-Drama of the War with Napoleon, in Three Parts, Nineteen Acts & One Hundred & Thirty Scenes.* First collected edition. London: Macmillan and Co., 1910. 'Presentation Copy' blind-stamped on the title page.**

Hardy's fascination with Napoleonic history was life-long, fuelled in childhood by his being born and brought up in an area of England whose coast-line had made it a prime target for possible invasion by Napoleon's troops. As a child and young man Hardy talked frequently with local residents for whom this history still had an eerie currency, as it did for his own grandmother: 'Past things retold were to her as things existent, / Things present but as a tale' ('One We Knew,' CP, p. 275). Visits in later years to Chelsea Hospital led to a meeting with a veteran of the Peninsular Campaign and Waterloo: 'It was extraordinary to talk and shake hands with a man who had shared in that terrible winter march to Coruna, and had seen Moore face to face.'[3]

*The Dynasts* can be seen as the culmination of that fascination. Thirty years in its conceptual evolution, close to ten during which it absorbed most of Hardy's writing energies, it was originally published in three separate volumes between January 1904 and February 1908. The first complete single-volume edition (displayed here) was published in November 1910.

With its use of a spectral Overworld of Spirits and Spirit Choruses, looking down on the body of Europe, 'the Alps shaping like a backbone, and the branching mountain-chains like ribs, the peninsular plateau of Spain forming a head' (Fore Scene, p. 6), and commenting on the human action, it also offers the fullest working out in any of Hardy's writings of his complex idea of the Immanent Will, embodying imaginatively his mature thoughts on the possible relationship in human experience between accident and design, determinism and free will.

79 **Programme. Kingsway Theatre Lillah McCarthy – Granville Barker. *The Dynasts.* With Notes on some of the lesser-known Characters in the abridgement from *The Dynasts* presented at the Kingsway Theatre November 25th, 1914.**

Despite Hardy's insistence that *The Dynasts* was not intended to be staged, he responded enthusiastically to Harley Granville Barker's proposal, in a letter of 25 September 1914, to select scenes for performance at London's Kingsway Theatre: 'I can extract, I find, three acts coming, roughly, from the three parts of the complete work and keeping mainly to the scenes that concern England. The first act, Trafalgar, the second the Peninsular, the third Waterloo' (DCM). Hardy collaborated energetically with Barker, reshaping the selected scenes and providing new material to connect them, along with a Prologue and Epilogue. The Overworld was dispensed with, its commentating role being assumed by a Reader, facing the audience from the prompt position below centre stage, and a choric voice on each side acting as a classical Strophe and Antistrophe.

While these somewhat eccentric compromises with both Hardy's original unstageable text and the wartime taste for theatrical escapism proved unsettling for some reviewers, audience response was overall very favourable. The play ran for seventy-one performances, the last given on 30 January 1915.

80 **Charles Ricketts. Original poster in black and white, by Charles Ricketts for the Kingsway Theatre production of Hardy's *The Dynasts.***

Although Purdy does not mention this poster, Ricketts wrote about it in a letter to E.A. Armstrong of the Fine Arts Society in 1914, saying 'Fifty copies … have been printed without the lettering and signed by Thomas Hardy & myself… . Ten prints have had tiny thumb-nail sketches added to them by me … The proceeds of the entire edition go to one of the War Funds'. This copy of the poster is one of the fifty signed in pencil in the lower margin by both Ricketts and Hardy.

81 **Souvenir Programme. Thomas Hardy's *Wessex Scenes from 'The Dynasts'*... Performances at the Corn Exchange, Dorchester, December 6th and 7th, 1916. In aid of the Dorset Red Cross Hospital Supply Depot and the Dorset Guild of Workers.**

While the annual Hardy plays were suspended for the duration of the First World War, occasional performances were still given by the Hardy Players in support of wartime fund-raising initiatives. *Wessex Scenes from 'The Dynasts'* was first performed at Weymouth's Pavilion Theatre on 22 June 1916. Constructed by Hardy himself, it comprised five scenes in all, divided into two acts. The scenes, three put together from five scenes in Part One and two from two scenes in Part Three of *The Dynasts*, showed the rustics' response to the public events that led to the battles of Trafalgar and Waterloo. Its necessarily episodic structure was made to cohere by the incorporation of material from *The Trumpet-Major* and by a love plot involving a waiting-maid (played by Gertrude Bugler) and a soldier. Hardy summarized the logic for his choices in an 'Explanation of the Rural Scenes from *The Dynasts*': 'The scenes selected from the hundred and thirty that the complete Epic-drama contains are those and those only which are laid in this part of the country; for all the depicted events happen in spots that are not more than a mile from where the performance itself goes on ... This gives a curious sense of closeness to the action of each scene in point of place, although separated from it in time by more than 100 years.'[4]

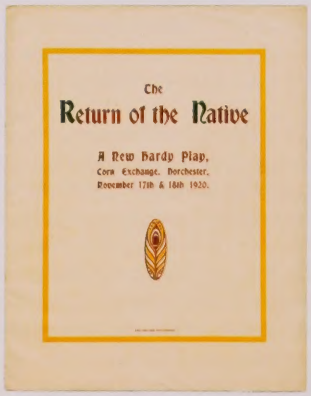
The energy devoted by Hardy to this collaboration with the Hardy Players was no doubt fired primarily by his desire to contribute to a worthy wartime charitable cause. But the success of the project – the only full-length production to be staged by the Hardy Players during the war years – may well have contributed not only to Hardy's willingness for the annual plays to be reinstated after the war but also to his eventual decision to allow performance of two of his own plays – the *Tess* script and *The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall*.

82 Programme. *The Return of the Native*. A New Hardy Play, Corn Exchange, Dorchester, November 17th & 18th, 1920.

Three original photographs of the cast of *The Return of the Native*. Featuring: Mr. E.J. Stevens as Damon Wildeve, Miss Gertrude Bugler as Eustacia Vye, and Dr. E.W. Smerdon as Clym Yeobright. Photographs by Bernard Griffin, Dorchester.

83 Thomas Hardy. *The Play of St. George as Aforetime Acted by the Dorsetshire Christmas Mummers*. Based on the version in 'The Return of the Native'. London: Samuel French, 1928. First published edition, 1921. One of one thousand.

The Players' first completely new production after the war was an adaptation in 1920 of *The Return of the Native*, made by T. H. Tilley as his first attempt at a full-length play. Tilley, like Evans (whose absence in London would by now have ended his connection with the group even without the intervention of the war), was a prominent local citizen, a builder and monumental mason by profession, a former Mayor of Dorchester, talented comic actor and scene builder,



and a member of the Players from their beginnings. Gertrude Bugler was given the role of Eustacia Vye. She was by this point being seen, particularly by the London popular press, as the unequivocal 'star' of the group, to the irritation of some of the older actors, who saw the journalistic 'booming' as being in questionable taste: 'Queen of Dorset Hearts. Footlights Preferred to Making Tarts' was the *Daily Express*'s headline (27 January 1921) announcing the London performance.

Despite the play's success in Dorchester, where it was held over for two extra nights, it received mixed, in some instances very hurtful, reviews, particularly after the London performance. These took issue with the play's confusing structure and inappropriate casting, especially the choice for Wildeve of the white-haired E. J. Stevens, who, though old enough to be Gertrude Bugler's father, was reluctant to give up playing romantic leads. The contentiousness attendant upon this production may well have contributed to the decision not to mount a play in 1921.

Hardy provided substantial assistance to Tilley, particularly in relation to the staging and phrasing of the old Dorset mummers' entertainment, *The Play of 'Saint George'*. Florence Hardy arranged for Hardy's recension of this traditional folk piece to be privately printed, in an edition of twenty-five copies, at the University Press, Cambridge (April 1921). It was subsequently (1928) re-issued by Samuel French in an edition of a thousand copies.[5]

**84 Thomas Hardy. *The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall at Tintagel in Lyonnesse*. First edition. London: Macmillan and Co., 1923. With a presentation inscription reading 'To Harley and Helen Granville-Barker, with T.H'.s good wishes, November: 1923'. From the library of Harley Granville-Barker with his bookplate.**

After the disappointing reception of 'The Return of the Native,' Tilley made one more attempt to adapt a Hardy novel for the stage. 'A Desperate Remedy' (1922), based on *Desperate Remedies*, Hardy's first published novel, elicited some praise for its dialect scenes, but reviews were no more encouraging than those for its predecessor. Had it not been for Hardy's willingness to allow the Players to

perform his own recently completed *The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall* (1923), and subsequently *Tess* (1924), 'A Desperate Remedy' might well have been the last of the yearly productions.

*The Queen of Cornwall*, Hardy's poetic drama based on the Tristram and Iseult story and set in the Cornwall that was for him always associated with his courtship of Emma Gifford, embodied many of his long-held beliefs about the dramatic desirability of observing the classical unities in stage action and adopting minimal scenic accoutrements. The acting time, a little over an hour, was designed to match almost exactly the time occupied by the events depicted. A group of what Hardy designated 'Chanters' filled the commentating role of a classical Greek Chorus. The Players received detailed advice from both Hardy and Granville-Barker, the latter's including emphasis on the need to sacrifice some of the ritualistic evocativeness to audibility: 'The formality is right: it gives aloofness. But I think one simply *must* hear what is said' (Granville-Barker to Tilley, 28 October, 1923 [DCM]). While reviews of this new, if eccentric, work by England's greatest living writer tried to be sympathetic, the dominant impression given was that 'the acting required to make this play live was beyond the power of the Hardy Players' (*Daily News*, 29 November 1923).

In order to coincide with the Hardy Players production, the play was published on 15 November 1923 in an edition of three thousand copies, and twice reprinted in November, with an American edition of a thousand numbered copies appearing in the same month (Purdy, p. 230).

**85 Programme. *Tess of the d'Urbervilles: A Tragedy in Four Acts and an After-Scene By Thomas Hardy*. The Hardy Players... at the Corn Exchange, Dorchester, November 26, 1924 and the three following nights.**

**Reproduction of an original photograph of Gertrude Bugler as Tess with knife about to kill Alec.**

**Original photograph of Norman Atkins as Alec d'Urberville in production of 'Tess' signed by Norman Atkins, 1924.**

Prevented by pregnancy from appearing in either *A Desperate Remedy* (1922) or *The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall* (1923), Gertrude Bugler was Hardy's choice for the role of Tess when he gave the Players permission to stage his own adaptation in 1924. This was to be the pinnacle of Bugler's career with the Players, and their last major production.

Since Hardy himself had made the adaptation, the production received even more national press attention than its predecessors. Reviews were in the main kind, while acknowledging that the play itself was little more than a loose assemblage of scenes from the novel and that the actors, even Bugler, were conspicuously amateur. But such was the media interest aroused that the theatrical producer Frederick Harrison approached Bugler with a view to her repeating the role professionally in a series of matinée performances at London's Haymarket Theatre. By mid-January 1925 arrangements were close to being finalized. But in mid-February Bugler received a visit from an almost hysterical Florence Hardy, who begged her to reconsider her decision for what were, to Bugler, a baffling array of reasons: there had been rumours about the nature of Hardy's interest in her, he would insist on going to London to see the performance which would strain his health, he had become sufficiently obsessed with her as to have written poems fantasizing about their elopement together. In the face of this emotional appeal, Bugler immediately withdrew from the arrangement with Harrison. The role of Alec in the Hardy Players production of *Tess* was taken by Norman Atkins, a young Dorchester bank clerk.

**86 Original photograph of cast of Barnes & Garrick Theatre *Tess* with Hardy at Max Gate, December 1925. Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies is at Hardy's feet, Philip Ridgeway to his left.**

The collapse of Harrison's plans for the Bugler *Tess* matinées cleared the way for further negotiations with professional managements. This led to a professional production by the young theatre manager Philip Ridgeway. Further modifications were made to Hardy's script by both Hardy himself and Ridgeway's assistant A. E. Filmer. The role of Tess was given to Gwen Ffrangcon-Davies. The play opened at the subur-

ban Barnes Theatre on 7 September 1925, subsequently transferring to London's West End, where it opened on 2 November at the Garrick Theatre and ran for another fifty-two performances. Reviews were mixed, the construction of the play coming in for more adverse criticism than the quality of the acting. Since Hardy's health made a trip to London unwise, the cast travelled to Dorchester for a private performance on 2 December 1925 before Hardy in the drawing-room at Max Gate.[6]

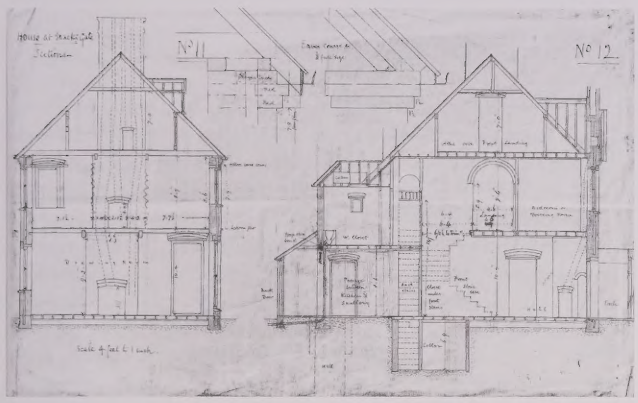
87 **Duke of York's Theatre. Philip Ridgeway Presents '*Tess of the d'Urbervilles': A Tragedy in a Foreshow, Four Acts and an After-Scene by Thomas Hardy, O.M.***

Florence Hardy may have felt residual guilt over the disappointment she had caused Gertrude Bugler, and after Hardy's death she was instrumental in ensuring that Bugler was offered the role of Tess in a revival of the Ridgeway production at London's Duke of York's Theatre. This opened on 23 July 1929 and ran for sixty performances, closing on 7 September. It received lukewarm reviews and was to be Bugler's only experience of the professional stage. A very brief tour followed, and she gave her last performance as Tess at the Margate Hippodrome on 21 September 1929.

## MAX GATE

From the time of their marriage in 1874, Hardy and Emma lived a rather peripatetic life, moving house seven times before settling in a rented house in Dorchester in the summer of 1883. This relocation to Dorchester demonstrated Hardy's awareness of his 'strengths and needs as a writer and the importance of making an early return to the country of his youth – since reclaimed as the country of his imagination – before the old ways of thinking, speaking and acting had entirely vanished'.[1] While visits to William Barnes and Horace Moule clearly signalled Hardy's reconnection with his past, no less important was a concern 'with establishing themselves in the town in a manner appropriate to their new middle-class'.[2] Hardy's return to Dorchester and status as a successful writer was acknowledged in tangible ways; he was appointed a justice of the peace for the Borough of Dorchester and he was 'taken up by members of the aristocracy' after an introduction to Lady Portsmouth in 1884 which was in fact the beginning of a subsequent pattern of relationships with rich, titled, and handsome women.

That Hardy viewed his relocation to Dorchester to be a permanent one is evidenced by the extended correspondence he began in 1882, with the largest landholder in the area, the Duchy of Cornwall, which resulted in his leasing and subsequently purchasing a one and a half piece of open ground, a little to the south-east of Dorchester. Max Gate, the house Hardy built on the site, would remain his home, first with Emma, and later with Florence, until his death in 1928. In the intervening years Max Gate not only provided Hardy with the privacy and atmosphere he required to write – novels from *The Woodlanders* through *Jude the Obscure*; the verse play *The Dynasts* and much of his poetry – it also became a destination for Hardy's friends, fellow writers, and assorted literary pilgrims.




**88 Thomas Hardy. Sectional drawings for Max Gate. 'House at Mack's Gate, Sections. No. 11 and No. 12.' Reproduction of the original drawing courtesy of the Dorset County Museum.**

With the acquisition of land from the Duchy of Cornwall complete, Hardy was free to implement his plans and begin the construction of Max Gate. Preparation for building began in November 1883 when Hardy planted hundreds of trees, 'mostly beech and Austrian pine, that were needed to shelter the house in its high and exposed position but would eventually shut it in to an almost claustrophobic degree'.[3] Drawing on his architectural experience, Hardy designed the house, referred to as 'Mack's Gate' in early drawings, and with Hardy 'constantly overlooking operations'[4] the construction of the red-brick house, undertaken by the building firm run by his father and brother, took two years to complete.

While the finished house, Max Gate, possessed some interesting features such as a 'square turret at the west end front', 'Portland stone window sills and oak window frames', and 'large south facing windows on the ground floor',[5] it could not be described as either grand or attractive. Descriptions of the house varied – Hardy himself referred to it as 'only a cottage in the country which I use for writing in'.[6] The reactions of visitors were decidedly mixed, with some sharing the opinion of A.C. Benson, who found Max Gate 'a structure at once mean & pretentious, with no grace of design or detail', while others, such as George Gissing, called it 'a very nice house'. The grounds included a large garden that was very deliberately laid out and planted as well as an area of lawn on which to take tea. Over the next twenty years the house itself was enlarged; in the mid–1890s a new kitchen and scullery were added, as well as a new study and two attic rooms, and in 1913 a small conservatory was added off the drawing room. However, the lack of amenities and Hardy's unwillingness to modernize Max Gate were constant sources of frustration for Florence, who explained to an American book collector in 1919, 'My husband had this house built for him five & thirty years ago, & has lived here ever since, & will, I am sure, never move from it. But we are not modern. We fear no frosts as there are no water pipes, practically, in the house. All our water has to be pumped up directly from a well & heated in kettles & saucepans over the kitchen fire. We have no boilers, no gas, we use oil lamps & candles for lighting, & have no bathroom even'.[7] In spite of her misgivings and her constant worries about the cost of maintaining the house, Florence remained at Max Gate after Hardy's death in 1928 until her own death in 1937.

**89 'Max Gate' seen from the lawn. Original photograph by Clive Holland.**

Clive Holland was the pseudonym of Charles James Hankinson (1866–1959), journalist and photographer. In 1899 he published a three-part article in *Bookman*, 'Thomas Hardy's Country: Scenes from the Wessex Novels', and sent Hardy some of the photographs which the latter found 'very good & artistic'.[8] In 1901, with Hardy's co-operation, Holland arranged for the members of the Whitefriars Club to visit Max Gate. Despite this co-operative gesture, in August Hardy's acute suspicion of journalists caused him to send explicit instructions to Holland regarding the use of photographs he had taken of Hardy at Max Gate and the nature of the article itself: 'With regard to the other photographs it was understood that permission to take them was given on the condition that they were to illustrate an

article which would be bibliographical rather than biographical, & would contain nothing of the nature of personal gossip, or things said & done here, or details of my writing room beyond the one photograph.'[9] Eventually, Hardy became so annoyed by Holland's 'persistent attention and proliferating articles' that he refused him admission to Max Gate.

**90 Original photographs circa 1900–1912 by Clive Holland. The entrance hall at Max Gate; a corner of the 'drawing room' at Max Gate; Portrait of Thomas Hardy in the drawing room (circa 1908); Portrait of Thomas Hardy in the drawing room (circa 1912); Thomas Hardy in the garden near the Druid stone; Thomas Hardy in his study.**

**91 Thomas Hardy. *The Woodlanders*. First edition. London: Macmillan And Co., 1887. In three volumes.**

While the *Mayor of Casterbridge* was published after Hardy moved into Max Gate in 1885, *The Woodlanders* was the first of the four novels that Hardy wrote there before abandoning prose for poetry. In 1874, Hardy put aside his idea for a 'woodland story he had thought of'[10] in order to write *The Hand of Ethelberta*. In November of 1885 he returned to the 'woodland story', which he now called *Fitzpiers at Hintock*. Later retitled *The Woodlanders*, it appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* in twelve installments, running from May 1886 to April 1887, but because he had difficulties writing the story, Hardy was never far ahead of the printer. With the seventh installment, he encountered the opposition of Mowbray Morris, editor of *Macmillan's*, over the way in which the affair between Suke Damson and Fitzpiers was being depicted, Morris insisting on the removal of the final sentence in chapter twenty, which implied that the characters had spent the night together. The novel appeared in book form in March 1887 and met with considerable success. Despite the difficulties, Hardy would later write of *The Woodlanders* that of all his novels 'I think I like it, *as a story*, the best of all'.[11]

**92 Frederick Dolman (1867–1923). 'An Evening with Thomas Hardy.' In: *The Young Man* Vol. VIII, March 1894. London: S.W. Partridge & Co., 1894.**

In his book, *Thomas Hardy O.M.*, Clive Holland suggests 'it was Hardy's distaste for interviews – one might say horror of interviewers – that served to make him so remote a figure of the literary world in which he lived'.[12] However, Hardy's 'horror' was not a sufficient shield against the increasing incursions by curious journalists and literary pilgrims. With the publication of *Tess* he became 'a public figure in a way and to a degree that he had not previously experienced, the frequent subject of items of personal or literary gossip in places like the *Athenaeum* and the *Bookman* and even, from time to time, the London newspapers'.[13] Hardy disavowed the articles that were 'concocted out of previously published material by people who had never been near either Max Gate or its master',[14] attempted to control the content of the interviews he did authorize, and on occasion, went so far as to author anonymously a piece about himself.

Frederick Dolman interviewed Hardy in 1893 and published several different accounts of their meeting, including the version above. However, even journalists like Dolman, who conducted interviews with Hardy's co-operation, could find themselves the targets of Hardy's disapproval. The content of Dolman's article further exacerbated Hardy's 'horror of interviewers', as he told Florence Henniker: 'I have, after all, been victimised by that interviewer. To my amazement, instead of the *literary* interview in the Young Man, which I conceded, I get a proof of a *political* convn [conversation] with Mr T.H., in the Westminster Gazette! ... but it consists of some careless remarks I made, after, as I thought, the interview was over.'[15]

**93 William Archer (1856–1924). *Real Conversations*. London: William Heinemann, 1904.**

Despite Hardy's innate suspicion of interviewers and interviews, occasionally he approved of both. Such was the case with the journalist and critic, William Archer, with whom Hardy maintained an unusually convivial relationship, writing to Archer in 1892, 'I have

been so drawn to yr writings by their accord with my views that I have often thought of testifying to that agreement by sending a book'.[16] In the face of the torrent of criticism in response to *Jude*, Archer's positive review drew Hardy's appreciation, 'I read with much pleasure your kind notice of *Jude*. You see the aim of the story – poor as it is in execution – with an unprejudiced & calm insight which is a contrast indeed to the vision of some reviewers'.[17]

Hardy agreed to Archer's request for an interview, which took place at Max Gate in February 1901. Given their friendly relationship, Hardy was less guarded and therefore more forthcoming; discussing his views on a range of topics, including Wessex, rural traditions, superstition, and apparitions. During their most interesting exchange, Hardy clarified his 'pessimism', stating that 'people call me a pessimist; and if it is pessimism to think, with Sophocles, that "not to have been born is best", then I do not reject the designation'.[18] The interview, 'Real Conversations: Conversation II. – With Mr. Thomas Hardy' appeared in the *Pall Mall Magazine* in April of 1901.

**94 Clive Holland. Photograph of Max Gate in 1901, showing Hardy with bicycle; Emma Hardy with her nephew, Gordon Gifford, in foreground; windows of Emma's attic and Hardy's final study visible at far right. Reproduction courtesy of the Dorset County Museum.**

An avid cyclist, Hardy is pictured here on the lawn of Max Gate with his bicycle. In his mid-fifties, he was persuaded to learn to ride it by Emma who, 'with the confidence of a horsewoman, took quickly to the saddle, and by the following January [1896] Hardy had also taken it up'.[19] They became cycling enthusiasts, going on extended bicycle tours together, exploring much of the Dorset countryside – Hardy on his 'cherished Rover Cob' and Emma, dressed in her 'green velvet cycling suit', made to match her first bicycle, which was green and known as the 'Grasshopper'.[20] Hardy was still cycling in his late seventies, making the two-mile journey from Max Gate to visit his siblings at Talbothays.

**95 Emma Hardy, autograph letter to Bessie Churchill. Tuesday November 24th, [1903]. Hotel Famille, Rue de la téte D'Or, Calais.**

As Max Gate was not a 'grand or gracious' house, the household staff was equally modest; consisting of 'two or sometimes three live-in (and frequently disgruntled) servants' who were accommodated in the attic, and a non-resident gardener. There was a regular turn-over of servants as 'parlourmaids were ever getting married, the cooks leaving for other, doubtless more appreciative, situations' as Emma was not 'an especially skillful manager'.[21]

In mid-November 1903, Emma took her niece, Lilian Gifford, who had been staying at Max Gate, on a trip to Dover. Acting on an impulse, they journeyed across the channel to Calais, not returning to Max Gate until early December. While away, she not only kept in touch with Hardy, but also with Elizabeth 'Bessie' Churchill, the Max Gate parlourmaid. In this letter sent from Calais, Emma expresses

concern about the well-being of the various Max Gate cats – 'I should *not* certainly like Pixie to be given to the washing-person … I was very glad to hear about Marky' – and the behaviour of one of the other servants: 'I was surprised to hear about Martha as she had a good character or I should not have taken her.'

**96 Edmund Gosse (1849–1928). Carbon typescript of 'A Visit to Thomas Hardy in 1912.' Dated Sherborne, 5 September, 1912. 6 pages.**

Edmund Gosse was 'in many ways and for long periods, Hardy's most intimate friend'[22] who, over the course of their forty-year friendship, supported Hardy's work both privately, as evidenced by their correspondence, and publically, in his published reviews of Hardy's novels and poetry. In letters to Gosse after the publication of *Jude*, Hardy expressed his appreciation for Gosse's support, writing 'Your review is the most discriminating that has yet appeared'.[23] Gosse was the 'first sleeping visitor' when he stayed at Max Gate in September 1886, 'before the house was quite finished'[24] and made several visits thereafter, the last in 1927. In September 1912, Gosse visited Max Gate, accompanied by Arthur Benson (1862–1925), the Cambridge don, subsequently Master of Magdalene College. Gosse later recorded the details of the visit in this typescript, which remained unpublished until 1991.

Despite their long-standing friendship, Gosse was very candid, and not altogether sympathetic, in his observations of both the house and its occupants. He described Max Gate as 'a little house, absurd with its blunt tower, [which] has an air of insufficiency, as if built too rapidly by a man seized by the fear of finding himself without shelter, built in disregard of the future …'. Hardy and his wife fare no better, Gosse noting that 'Emma Hardy greets us with effusion, absurdly dressed, as a country lady without friends might dress herself on a vague recollection of some nymph in a picture by Botticelli' and that Hardy himself 'seems to me, very small, very dry, very white … His eyes are smaller than ever … hair almost wholly worn away from the forehead, the moustache, once yellowish red, has faded into pallor, it is like the sparse whiskers of some ancient rodent …'. Gosse does however, close with a recognition of Hardy's talents – 'He remains, what he has always been, a sphinx-like little man, unrelated, unrevealed, displaying nothing that the most affectionate solicitude can make use of to explain the mystery of his magnificent genius'.

**97 Gertrude Bugler (1897–1992). 'Christmas Night at Max Gate 1920.' Holograph manuscript, seven pages, signed by Bugler on the last leaf.**

As a leading member of The Hardy Players, Gertrude Bugler (see Hardy on Stage) accompanied the dramatic troupe on the several occasions they staged performances at Max Gate. However, as the elderly Hardy was clearly infatuated with the young and very beautiful Gertrude, these visits were the cause of some tension – between Hardy and Florence, Florence and Gertrude, and Gertrude and the other members of the Players. Shown here is Gertrude's account (written some years later) of a performance of the mummer's play by the cast of *The Return of the Native*, which took place at Max Gate, on Christmas Eve, 1920.

Bugler, who played the role of Eustacia Vye, recalls that after the performance 'T.H. came our way for he had a word for everyone. When he came to me he said "Won't you raise your visor for me Eustacia as you did for Clym" So I held the ribbons aside as I had done for Clym and saw a smiling Thomas Hardy'. However, while Hardy found Gertrude charming, Florence most certainly did not, writing to Cockerell on 26 December that 'we had a very delightful time with them – Miss Bugler looking prettier than ever in her mumming dress. T.H. has lost his heart to her entirely, but as she is soon getting married I don't let that cast me down *too* much'.[25]

**98 Christmas card 'Greetings from Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hardy, Max Gate, Dorchester. Xmas 1923.' Woodcut illustration signed 'L.M.W'.**

In the 1920s Hardy commissioned a series of Christmas cards. Perhaps the most charming are those for 1923 and 1926 which featured two scenes of Hardy's house, Max Gate. The first of these

cards (shown here), depicts their beloved terrier Wessex, sitting at the door of Max Gate. Both cards were designed by Lilian Maud Whitby, one of Hardy's distant relatives.

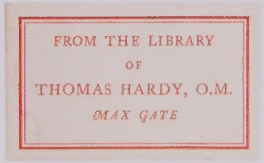
**99 'Hardy's final study', circa 1900. Reproduction of an original photograph by Clive Holland. Courtesy of Princeton University Library.**

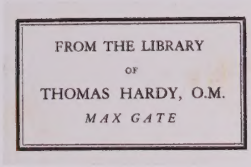
During the early years at Max Gate, Hardy's study was located in one of the three bedrooms located upstairs on the first floor of the house. This larger, 'purpose-built' study, pictured here in a photograph by Clive Holland, was situated on the first floor at the rear of the house as part of an extensive addition to Max Gate in the mid–1890s. A spacious, well-lit, book-lined room, it was 'located as far as possible removed from household activities ... and always impregnable, except by rare invitation', contained Hardy's desk, positioned near a large window, a smaller table and other furnishings, and was for Hardy, 'the heart of the house'.[26] It 'constituted in itself a permanent *aide-mémoire* of a complex and powerful kind, a repository of objects rich in associative significance: books dating back to his earliest years, family photographs, illustrations to *Jude* and other novels, portraits of admired writers, a painting that had once belonged to William Barnes ...'.[27] Hardy's well-established pattern of daily work carried out in this book-lined study, was described in an article in the *World*

published in February 1886: 'he begins writing immediately after breakfast, and remains indoors until he has finished for the day.'[28]

**100 Selection of books from the Max Gate Library, with different versions of the Max Gate Library bookplate.**
***Anatomy of Melancholy*** **(red bookplate);** ***The Open Road*** **(black bookplate);** ***The Secret of Narcisse*** **(black bookplate);** ***Sonnets & Folk Songs*** **(inscribed to Hardy, with the bookplates of Frederick Baldwin Adams and Elkin Matthews);** ***The Yellow Book*** **(black bookplate);** ***George Meredith*** **(black bookplate);** ***Henry Esmond*** **(black bookplate).**

Hardy's library began long before Max Gate was built. First came gifts from his mother – Dryden's *Virgil*, Johnson's *Rasselas*, and Bernadin de Saint Pierre's *Paul and Virginia*, and later gifts from friends such as Horace Moule, who gave him a copy of Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*. In the mid–1860s Hardy purchased several reference works, a set of Shakespeare, and collections by several of the canonical English poets. After his marriage Hardy continued to enlarge his library, acquiring works of philosophy, social theory, local history, works relating to the Napoleonic period, and guidebooks for his




travels on the continent. Although Hardy makes the occasional reference to bookshops in *Life*, and there are a few mentions of book purchases in his surviving letters, 'we know remarkably little, either in general or specific terms, about the accumulation of the substantial library which Hardy left behind him at his death'.[29] However, it is clear that as both Hardy's fame and circle of acquaintances increased, so did the size of the library itself as 'friends, acquaintances and total strangers pressed copies of their own books upon him – often with presentation inscriptions of a more or less fulsome character'.[30] In terms of its physical layout, the Max Gate library spread well beyond the confines of Hardy's study, which housed those books that he used most frequently – filling shelves in the corridors, drawing-room, and the two back attics.

Nevertheless, Hardy did not have any bookplates printed or inserted in his books. The various versions of the Max Gate Library bookplate were created after Hardy's death by Sydney Cockerell, who in his role as literary executor had the labels printed at the Cambridge University Press. The simple but elegant Max Gate Library labels were printed in two colours – 'red for books containing Hardy's signature or notes in his handwriting, black for the other selected books'.[31] Cockerell also took on the task of inserting the red labels into as many signed or annotated books as he could find, leaving the task of pasting in the black labels to 'Mrs Hardy or an assistant'. Their efforts to accurately identify and to 'bookplate' the items in the Max Gate Library were somewhat undermined by the actions of those involved with the disposition of the library after Florence Hardy's death. At the sale conducted by Hodgson & Co. in 1938, both red and black labels were passed out to booksellers who made large purchases. Complicating matters even further, some of the booksellers who had purchased a substantial number of books 'sought to record the otherwise unsignalled provenance of the volumes they had acquired by printing and inserting "Max Gate" bookplates of their own'.

**101 Robert Browning (1812–1899). Pocket Volume of *Selections from the Poetical Works of Robert Browning*. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1894. With an inscription reading 'To Mary Hardy, from Thomas Hardy, June 1894.' With underlining, crosses, and vertical markings by Thomas Hardy. With the bookplate of Frederick Baldwin Adams.**

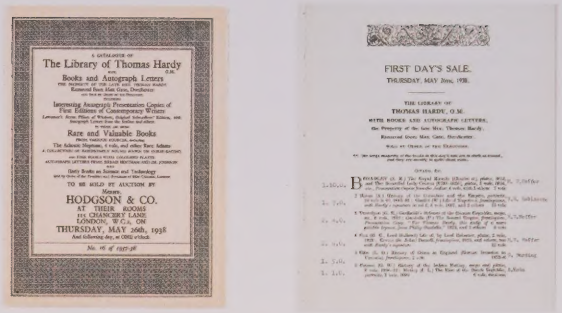
When he was working as an architect in London, Hardy began what would become a lifelong engagement with the poetry of Robert Browning. Living 'hardly more than a stone's throw from Browning', Hardy's 'unfortunate shyness' precluded him seeking a meeting which he felt would have provided 'stimulus and help' in pursuing his own poetic ambitions.[32] Over the next sixty years, Hardy read and reread Browning's work, transcribed excerpts of the verse into his notebooks, and in a short piece, 'Favourite Books of 1899', which appeared in the *Academy*, he chose the 'Letters of Robert and Mrs. Browning' as one of 'the two books read with most interest and pleasure'.[33] Although Hardy met Browning several times at social gatherings in London during the 1880s, they remained only acquaintances.

Hardy's library included several different editions of Browning's verse, each with varying amounts of annotation by Hardy. The volume here, which he gave to his sister Mary, bears witness to Hardy's characteristic use of underlining, and vertical lines and crosses in the margins to designate passages of interest. Given Hardy's interest in Browning's verse, some influence was perhaps inevitable; however, in a passage prepared for *Life and Work* but not included, Hardy made it clear that any comparison would reveal the profound difference in their philosophies: 'Imagine you have to walk [a] chalk line across an open down. Browning walked it, knowing no more. But a yard to the left of the same line the down is cut by a vertical cliff five hundred feet deep. I know it is there, but walk the line just the same.'[34] Whatever the differences in their outlooks, in the last few days of his life Hardy asked Florence to read aloud to him Browning's 'Rabbi Ben Ezra'.

102 Harley Granville-Barker (1877–1946). *The Madras House: A Comedy, in Four Acts.* London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1925. With the Max Gate bookplate 'From the Library of Thomas Hardy, O.M. Max Gate'. With a presentation inscription reading 'For T.H. (my fellow playwright: may I call him so?) in affectionate homage, from H.G-B., Dec. 1925.' With the bookplate of Frederick Baldwin Adams.

In addition to their collaborative efforts in the Kingsway adaptation of *The Dynasts* (1914), Hardy and Granville-Barker had the shared experience of being subjected to hostile reviews by critics who were offended by their work. In 1907, Granville-Barker's play *Waste,* which raised the question of abortion, was relegated to private performances after being banned by the censor. His *The Madras House*, which opened in 1910, addressed 'so many aspects of the sex problem … marriage, philandering, polygamy … that it too was unsuccessful, closing after only a few performances'.[35] Hardy, who had addressed the 'problem' with critics in his article 'Candour in English Fiction' in 1890, was echoed by Granville-Barker, who in 1909 voiced similar sentiments about drama: 'The present curse of the English drama is that it has become so narrowed and conventionalised in subject and in treatment of subject that while it is transplantable enough to any country that cares to have it, in England people with active brains are kept from the theatre because of the boredom of its damnable iteration. For this the censorship is certainly responsible.'[36] Granville-Barker, who described *The Madras House* as 'the best play I've written yet'[37], encouraged a revival in 1925 and a sympathetic Hardy wrote, 'I am almost sorry you did not write it as a novel … Its subtleties are to my mind largely wasted on the stage which, think what you will, addresses itself to people who are not very perceptive except the few who don't count among the mass'.[38]

103 *A Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Hardy, O.M. with Books and Autograph Letters. The Property of the Late Mrs. Thomas Hardy, Removed from Max Gate, Dorchester … to be Sold by Auction by Messrs. Hodgson & Co., at their Rooms, London, Thursday, May 26th, 1938.*


A CATALOGUE OF
The Library of Thomas Hardy
O.M.
Books and Autograph Letters
THE PROPERTY OF THE LATE MRS. THOMAS HARDY
Removed from Max Gate, Dorchester
Interesting Association Presentation Copies of
First Editions of Contemporary Writers
Rare and Valuable Books
TO BE SOLD BY AUCTION BY
Messrs.
HODGSON & CO.
AT THEIR ROOMS
115 CHANCERY LANE
LONDON, W.C.2, ON
THURSDAY, MAY 26th, 1938
FIRST DAY'S SALE.
THURSDAY, MAY 26TH, 1938.
THE LIBRARY OF
THOMAS HARDY, O.M.
WITH BOOKS AND AUTOGRAPH LETTERS,
the Property of the late Mrs. Thomas Hardy,
Removed from Max Gate, Dorchester.

**Galley proofs for the Hodgson auction catalogue.** ***Sale of Books from the Library of Thomas Hardy.*** **With a note in pencil, 'Un-read proof. Please return To FBA Jr.' (Frederick Baldwin Adams).**

After Hardy's death, Florence Hardy took care to preserve his study and most of its contents. However, neither his books nor his papers were left entirely undisturbed, as Florence distributed some of the books to his closest friends and Sydney Cockerell carried out a systematic sorting and culling of the papers – one which involved the destruction of notebooks and other documentary materials. At Florence's death in 1937, the more important books and manuscripts were deposited in the Dorset County Museum, while the remainder were sold at public auction.

The copy of the fifty-five page sale catalogue issued by Hodgson & Co. shown here as containing 309 lots of books from Hardy's library, also has the prices realized recorded in pencil in the margin – the sale for the library bringing £2,680. The details of the auction were reported in various papers, including the *Manchester Guardian, The Times Literary Supplement*, and *The New York Times.* The *Guardian* noted that 'the number of presentation copies of books sent by their authors is like a catalogue of English fiction during the past fifty years,' while the *TLS* reported that the most expensive item in the sale, an autographed copy of J.M. Barrie's *The Little Minister*, was purchased by Maggs for £255.

## LATER YEARS

'The value of old age depends upon the person who reaches it. To some men of early performance it is useless. To others, who are late to develop, it just enables them to finish the job.' (Thomas Hardy. *Life and Work*)

Hardy's position as a 'world famous man of letters' brought with it recognition and honours (including the Order of Merit and several honorary degrees) and Max Gate became a destination for his admirers, both tourists and writers alike. But it also put increasing demands on his time – spawning a voluminous correspondence, replete with requests for literary contributions, autographs, and appearances. However, there seems little doubt that Hardy was determined to 'finish the job' and 'nothing in his career is more remarkable than the job-completion of his extreme old age, the combination of his late productivity as a poet and his painstaking attention to the posthumous survival of his work and reputation'. His creative output over the last fifteen years of his life was extraordinary; it included the extensively revised 'Wessex Edition' of his work, the two-volume autobiography, *Early Life* and *Later Years*, and five volumes of poetry.

**104 Florence Emily Hardy. *The Early Life of Thomas Hardy 1840–1891*. (With): *The Later Years of Thomas Hardy 1892–1928*. First editions. London: Macmillan and Co., 1928, 1930. Max Gate library copies, with a note from Richard Little Purdy.**

The deaths of both Emma (1912) and his sister Mary (1915), pressure from Sydney Cockerell to 'write down something about yourself,'[1] his own illness, and his fear of biographical exposure – exacerbated by the publication of Hedgcock's *Thomas Hardy: Penseur et artiste* – all prompted Hardy to take control of his biographical legacy. In 1917, with the assistance of Florence, who was keen to be recognized as an author in her own right, he began what would become the 'official' biography. Hardy's plan was to secretly write his biography in the third person for publication over Florence's name after his death.

In the beginning, Hardy dictated his recollections and thoughts to Florence, who would then type them up for him to review, but by 1918 the system had evolved to Hardy's writing 'pages of manuscript that were then handed to Florence to be typed up'.[2] The typed drafts consisted of three copies; 'the top copy, eventually destined for the printer; the first carbon, intended to serve as the copy of record for the Hardys themselves; and the second carbon, designated as the 'rough' or working copy'.[3] Hardy's corrections, additions and revisions would be made on the 'rough' copy from which Florence would transfer them to the file copy and, when Hardy had given his final approval, she would transfer them to the top copy. Hardy drew heavily on correspondence and the notebooks that he had kept since the 1860s. He worked 'systematically through those notebooks, revisiting his past, identifying entries appropriate for quotation'.[4] The 'revisiting' also provided Hardy with the impetus to dispose of segments of his literary archive, writing to George Douglas in September 1919, 'I have been occupied in the dismal work of destroying all sorts of papers which were absolutely of no use for any purpose, God's or man's'.[5] The task of writing the biography occupied much of Hardy's and Florence's time and energy, but by the end of 1919 they had finished up to the year 1918, Hardy describing it as being 'in approximately printable condition at that point'.[6] However, the sections covering the final decade of Hardy's life, what would be the final four chapters, 'remained in unfinished condition'.[7] Over the next few years, Hardy continued to revise the text of the biography, with Florence reporting to Maurice Macmillan in 1926 that Hardy was 'going over the MS. & correcting it very carefully. This may be wise or the reverse. However he is greatly interested'.[8]

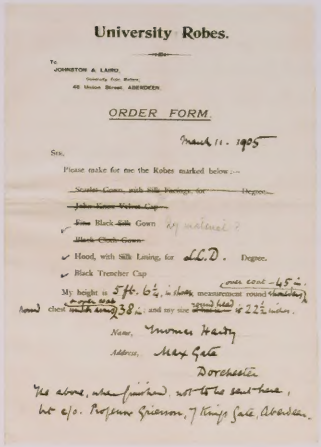
After Hardy's death, Florence saw it as one of her principal responsibilities to finish and publish the biography, the 'memoranda' left by Hardy having empowered her to make both deletions from and additions to the existing text. Anxious to complete the task, she made some changes at Barrie's urging, adding some early letters from Hardy to his sister Mary, and removing a good many of 'her husband's unlovely diatribes against critics and reviewers and several of his listings of people encountered in London drawing rooms'.[9] With the publication of *Early Life* in November 1928, Florence turned her

attention to completing *Later Years*. Requiring much more work than the earlier volume, Florence addressed the task by following 'closely the outline her husband had provided for 1919 and 1920 and drawing extensively even in the final two chapters, on the materials, he had so to speak, prefabricated for her use'.[10] As in *Early Life* she made changes where she felt they were necessary, and the volume was published in April 1930.

It was Hardy's bibliographer, Richard Little Purdy who first determined that the two volumes were 'in reality an autobiography. Though Mrs. Hardy's name stands on the title-page, her work was confined to a few editorial touches, and the writing is throughout Hardy's own'.[11]

**105 Thomas Hardy. *Winter Words in Various Moods and Metres.* First edition. London: Macmillan and Co., 1928. Inscribed by Florence Hardy to J.M. Barrie.**

Published nine months after Thomas Hardy's death and inscribed in this copy by Florence Hardy to their friend J.M. Barrie, *Winter Words* is Hardy's eighth and final volume of verse. Containing 105 poems, it is shorter than previously published volumes of Hardy's verse but otherwise it is 'in every way comparable to them in its range of theme, subject matter and technique'. The poems reflect almost all periods of Hardy's life and 'originated in almost every stage of Hardy's poetic career, from the 1860s onwards'.[12] Hardy was compiling this volume at the time of his death with an eye to publishing it on his eighty-eighth birthday in June and described it as 'probably my last appearance on the literary stage'.[13] It closes with the appropriately titled 'He Resolves to Say No More'. While the critical response was likely influenced by Hardy's death, the reaction was largely positive, with the reviewer in the *Spectator* praising 'the dramatic genius which still burns in this last work, making many poems intense with such human aching that the heart is wounded as we read them'.[14]



University Robes.

To
JOHNSTON & LAIRD,
Scholastic Robe Makers,
46 Union Street, ABERDEEN.

ORDER FORM.

March 11. 1905

Sirs,

Please make for me the Robes marked below :—

~~Scarlet Gown, with Silk Facings, for Degree.~~

~~John Knox Velvet Cap.~~

~~Irish~~ Black ~~Cloth~~ Gown (of material ?)

~~Black Cloth Gown.~~

✓ Hood, with Silk Lining, for LL.D. Degree.

✓ Black Trencher Cap

My height is 5 ft. 6¼, in shoes, measurement round shoulders (over coat - 45 in.
~~over coat~~ round chest ~~under arms~~ 38 in., and my size ~~round head~~ is 22½ inches.

Name, Thomas Hardy

Address, Max Gate
Dorchester

The above, when finished, not to be sent here, but c/o. Professor Grierson, 7 Kings Gate, Aberdeen.

**106 University Robes order form. March 11th, 1905. Form filled out in Hardy's hand with note to Professor Grierson at the bottom. On the occasion of his honorary degree from the University of Aberdeen.**

With Hardy's advancing age, he was the recipient of various honours in recognition of his literary accomplishments. One of the earliest of these was an honorary Doctorate of Laws from the University of Aberdeen, and it was 'especially appreciated by its recipient as a gesture from that world of formal education he had never known as a young man'.[15] In March 1905, Hardy corresponded with Professor Herbert Grierson (1866–1960) regarding accommodation in Aberdeen and the specifications for the gown he would wear during the ceremony itself. Hardy filled out the form for the gown, stating his height was '5 6 ¼" in shoes, measurement round shoulders over coat 45 in; round chest, under arms and over coat 38 in: and my size round head is 22 ½ inches'. Hardy asked Grierson to look over this form and send it in 'if correct, or altering it if not. I am in doubt about the material for the gown, so please insert what is usual or sufficient for a person who will seldom or never see it again'.[16]

**107 Original photographic portrait of Thomas Hardy by Bernard Griffin showing Hardy in academic robes on the occasion of his honorary degree from Cambridge University, June 1913. With a later inscription 'September 11, 1919'.**

As a result of Emma's death late in 1912, Hardy experienced a period of upheaval in his personal life and his public life was 'quieter than usual'. However, he did agree to travel to Cambridge to accept an honorary Litt.D, writing to the Vice-Chancellor, S.A. Donaldson, 'to confer on me such a mark of distinction as the Honorary degree of Doctor of Letters gives me much gratification, & I shall accept the same with pleasure'.[17] Given his unrealized ambition to attend Cambridge, this honour carried extra meaning for Hardy, and his sister Mary wrote to him 'Now you have accomplished it all with greater honour than if you had gone along the road you then saw before you'.[18]

**108 *The Art of Authorship, Literary Reminiscences, Methods of Work, and Advice to Young Beginners. Personally Contributed by Leading Authors of the Day.* Edited by George Bainton. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1890. Hardy contributes a short paragraph on writing.**

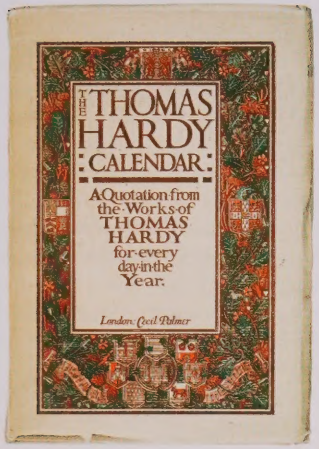
**109 Autograph letter to poet and critic Arthur Symons dated 31 May 1915.**

Hardy's advice on writing was solicited by amateurs aspiring to be novelists or poets, teachers and other instructors, and also by Hardy's colleagues. Hardy's responses to those in the first two categories were usually polite but brief. His replies to his fellow professional writers were much longer, more thoughtful and indicated a genuine desire to be helpful.

George Bainton (1848–1925) wrote to Hardy requesting a comment on 'the formation of style' to be used in a lecture illustrating 'the art of composition'.[19] Hardy's response was typical – polite but brief: 'Any detailed rules as to the formation of style I could not possibly give, for I know of none that are of practical utility. A writer's style is according to his temperament, & my impression is that if he has anything to say which is of value, & words to say it with, the style will come itself.'[20] Bainton took it upon himself to revise the first sentence, which when published read 'Any studied rules I could not possibly give…'. but left the rest of Hardy's reply as Hardy wrote it.

In contrast to such stock replies to requests for advice from amateur writers, Hardy's responses to his colleagues were both considerate and thoughtful. In this three-page letter in reply to a request for advice from his fellow writer, the critic and poet Arthur Symons (1865–1945), Hardy reveals himself to be a sympathetic yet candid correspondent. Symons had been one of the most influential writers of the 1890s but had produced little since suffering a breakdown in 1908. Hardy and Symons, each admiring the work of the other, had corresponded on a variety of literary topics.

In the spring of 1915, he sent Hardy the manuscript of his new story, 'The Life and Adventures of Lucy Newcome' in which the heroine, like Hardy's Tess, is seduced and abandoned by her cousin. In order to support herself and her baby, Lucy works as a laundress, then becomes a mistress and finally a prostitute. Having been the target of the moral outrage of the critics when *Tess* was published, Hardy clearly wanted to spare the emotionally delicate Symons from a similar experience – 'I do not call the composition quite a story; it seems rather a study of a certain class of womankind' and 'As you ask me for advice I daresay you mean advice in a practical sense: i.e., as to the advisability of printing the MS. – without reference to the goodness or otherwise of the work … Candidly then, I should not, if I were you, publish the study'. Hardy explains further, 'The present time [that of the First World War] is particularly unsympathetic with such phases of life, & your reputation might not be advanced by printing this'. Hardy, aware of Symons's delicate state of mind, adds 'I should not be surprised to hear that the lively imagination which prompted these pages you send has exercised itself in raising some nightmare-ish vision of the terrible events that are happening'. Symons heeded Hardy's advice and the story did not appear in print during Symons's lifetime.




**110 Cecil Palmer. *The Thomas Hardy Calendar. A Quotation from the Works of Thomas Hardy for Every Day in the Year*. Compiled by C.P. London: Cecil Palmer, 1921.**

From 1909 to 1921 the firm of Frank Palmer published a number of these attractive perpetual calendars containing quotations from the works of famous writers such as G.B. Shaw, Charles Dickens, Oscar Wilde, and J.M. Barrie. In 1914 Hardy agreed to 'let Mr. Cecil Palmer compile a Calendar of sentences from my books', maximizing the opportunity by arranging for Macmillan to receive 'a *free* advertisement of my works in the Calendar'.[21] Despite the agreement, the calendar that included quotations from Hardy's prose and poetry did not appear until 1921. The attractive cover design by W.S. Lear incorporated symbols relevant to Hardy, including the arms of the Royal Institute of British Architects and the arms of Dorset.

**111 Original photograph of Thomas Hardy with Dr. William Burrough Cosens at the opening of a fund-raising event for the Dorchester Hospital on 20 July 1921.**

As one of Dorchester's most celebrated and recognizable residents, Hardy was increasingly called upon to appear at various civic functions and openings. Always wary of demands on his time, Hardy declined many, but not all, of these requests. It is likely that his appearance at the Dorchester Borough Gardens to open a fund-raising bazaar for the Dorchester Hospital was encouraged by Florence, who maintained an active interest in the local hospital. Hardy gave a short speech which received a positive report in *The Dorset County Chronicle*. Hardy's view of the occasion was rather less enthusiastic, as he reported to Walter de la Mare (1873–1956) that 'I have had to undergo the ordeal of opening a huge Bazaar!'[22]

**112 Edward G. Fairholme and Wellesley Pain. *A Century of Work for Animals. The History of the R.S.P.C.A., 1824–1924*. London: John Murray, 1924. Contains 'Compassion' An Ode, by Thomas Hardy.**

Throughout their lives, Hardy and both his wives were dedicated and vocal supporters of animal rights. Despite the difficulties in their marriage, Hardy acknowledged Emma's devotion to animals: 'her *courage* in the cause of animals was truly admirable, surpassing that of any other woman I have ever known.'[23] Hardy too, spoke out against cruelty to animals, expressing his opposition to blood-sports and other forms of cruelty in letters to newspapers and contributions to works such as the one shown here.

In January 1924 Edward Fairholme (1873–1956), chief secretary of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, wrote to Hardy to ask if he would write a 'celebratory ode' to mark the centenary of the R.S.P.C.A. in June 1924. Hardy sent Fairholme the 'Ode' in late January and then sent corrected proofs back in April, agreeing to the publication of the 'Ode' in *The Times* and waiving copyright 'in order that other newspapers may be able to reprint the Ode in the interest of animals'.[24] The texts of the two publications differ as *The Times* seems to have been provided with the unrevised version.

**113 'Tess' Christmas card.**

Signed by Florence Hardy and Thomas Hardy, this undated Christmas card features a reproduction of a painting of a scene from *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*. The illustration, 'There stood a mother, amid the group of children, hanging over the washing tub,' by Hubert von Herkomer, was the first in the illustrated serialization of Hardy's novel, appearing in the 4 July 1891 issue of the *Graphic*.

**114 Thomas Hardy autograph card, reading 'Dear Sir: Autograph as requested. Thomas Hardy.'**

Hardy was inundated with requests for autographs, autograph letters, and signatures in books which were often ignored or met with the stock reply he drafted for the use of his occasional secretary May O'Rourke: 'Were Mr. Hardy to answer the mass of letters he receives from strangers like yourself he would have no time whatever for any work of his own, or even for taking rest.'[25] However, as shown by the example above, Hardy would occasionally respond favourably to a request for an autograph.

**115 *Shakespeare Memorial Theatre Fund ... Theatre Royal, Drury Lane ... Tuesday, November 9th, 1926.* A reprint of Hardy's poem 'To Shakespeare after Three Hundred Years.'**

In early March 1926, the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre in Stratford was destroyed by fire and Hardy was one of many signatories to an appeal for funds to rebuild the theatre that was published later that month in *The Times*. In September of 1926 Archibald Flower, the Mayor of Stratford-upon-Avon, asked Hardy if he would write '"a stanza or two" which could be reproduced in the souvenir programme of the forthcoming Drury Lane special matinée in aid of the rebuilding fund'.[26] Hardy responded that his age made it impossible to contribute any original work, but he did agree to make 'a copy or replica of the MS. of a dozen lines' of his poem 'To Shakespeare After Three Hundred Years', which first appeared in *A Book of Homage to Shakespeare* (1916) edited by Israel Gollancz (1863–1930). The first, second, and sixth stanzas were copied out and printed in the Drury Lane programme.[27]

**116 F.A. Hedgcock. (b.1875) *Thomas Hardy: Penseur et Artiste.* First edition. Paris: Librairie Hachette & Cie, (1911).**

In 1909 Gosse wrote to Hardy to tell him that he had been contacted by Frank Hedgcock, who was writing a thesis on Hardy's Wessex novels. Hedgcock had asked Gosse a number of questions about Hardy, one of which concerned the influence of Schopenhauer on Hardy's work. Hardy made his views clear, telling Gosse, 'I cannot see how details of one's personal history, when certain books were read, &c., can be required for any legitimate literary criticism'. While he was unwilling to communicate directly with Hedgcock, Hardy did address the Schopenhauer question in his letter to Gosse, adding 'if you don't mind taking the trouble to reply to him, hinting the substance of what I say, please do so'.[28] Gosse spoke to Hardy on Hedgcock's behalf and in July 1910 Hardy agreed to let Hedgcock visit Max Gate 'on the understanding that nothing seen or heard here is to be printed'.[29]

In June 1911, Hardy received a copy of Hedgcock's finished work and although he was unable to read it immediately, he assumed Hedgcock had acted in good faith and wrote to Gosse, 'as soon as I get back I will read his book &, as he wishes, point out any errors or shortcomings'.[30] However, when he did so, Hardy discovered to his great horror that Hedgcock had prefaced the work with an unauthorized biographical chapter. Hardy's anger was evident from the marginal annotations he made in his copy, 'All this is too personal, & in bad taste, even supposing it were true, which it is not ... It betrays the cloven foot of the "interviewer"'.[31] Hardy effectively discouraged a proposed translation in 1922, writing to the publisher, Vere Collins, that 'he [Hardy], cannot consider the question of your publishing a translation at all, unless on an undertaking that these pseudo-biographical analyses are omitted, and, speaking generally, most of the personal matter except a few necessary data'.[32] While the work was not in fact published in English, the entire episode was a factor in Hardy's decision to take control of his biographical legacy, which led to the writing of *Early Life* and *Later Years*.

**117 Thomas Hardy. '*Memories of Church Restoration*.' In: The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings. The General Meeting of the Society; Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Committee; and Paper Read by Thomas Hardy, Esq. June, 1906.**

Even though Hardy gave up his career as an architect in order to be a writer, he did not lose his interest in architecture and the restoration of buildings. He joined the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings in 1881 and wrote to its secretary that 'I am entirely in sympathy with its movements'.[33] This paper was a clear indication that Hardy now deplored the type of 'restoration' in which he had been engaged during his short career as an architect. Nowhere is Hardy's 'revulsion against the destructive consequences of this kind of restoration'[34] expressed more clearly and forcefully than in this 'confessional' paper which he wrote for delivery to the annual meeting of the SPAB in 1906. Hardy notes that 'All that I am able to do is to look back in a contrite spirit at my own brief experience as a church-restorer, and, by recalling instances of the drastic treatment we then dealt out with light hearts to the unlucky fanes that fell into our hands, possibly help to prevent its repetition on the few yet left untouched'.[35] Hardy's views on this subject are unequivocal: 'The protection of an ancient edifice against renewal in fresh materials is, in fact, even more of a social – I may say a humane – duty than an aesthetic one. It is the preservation of memories, history, fellowships, fraternities.'[36]

The paper was reported in several publications including *The Times* and *Academy*. It was also published in the annual report of the SPAB shown here, and a revised version appeared in the *Cornhill Magazine* in August 1906.[37]

**118. Frank R. and Sidney Heath. *Dorchester (Dorset), And Its Surroundings. With a Foreword by Thomas Hardy.* Dorchester: F.G. Longman, 1905–1906. 'The Homeland Handbooks No. 46.'**

With the identification of Hardy's 'Casterbridge' with the town of Dorchester it was inevitable that Hardy would be called upon to comment on and contribute to guide-books for Dorset (Wessex) and its environs. Hardy was clearly conflicted by the association of the locations in his imagined world with actual locations in and around Dorset. On the one hand he acknowledged the association of 'Wessex locations' and their 'real' equivalents, and in order to ensure accurate correlations, he went as far as providing Bertram Windle with a list, which included 'Dorchester. "Casterbridge" scene of "Mayor of C." and of chapters of nearly all the novels'.[38] On the other hand, he did not wish to encourage incursions on his privacy by tourists, curious literary pilgrims and journalists. Hardy's conflicted feelings are illustrated by his involvement with the Heaths' work.

When he was first approached by E.W. Kerr, the Mayor of Dorchester, in early April 1902, Hardy welcomed the idea of a guide book – 'I have often thought it desirable. I hope it will contain a clear *map* of the town' and then immediately sought to distance himself from such a project. He declined to contribute an introduction, believing 'it would hardly be good policy for me to have an overt hand in the preparation of a guide', but moderated this slightly by offering to point the 'editor to some passages in my books that bear upon the subject'.[39] At the end of April, Hardy sent 'as promised a few suggestions', mostly involving names and identifications of places of interest. There is no further comment from Hardy until 23 September 1905 when a letter to the editor, F.R. Heath, shows that Hardy had clearly changed his mind about 'overt involvement' as he returns 'the proof herewith, with a few errors corrected.... I also send a few forewords as you requested'.[40]

**119 Programme for the Funeral Service of The Late Thomas Hardy, O.M. Westminster Abbey. Monday January 16th, 1928. 2 pm.**

**Funeral ticket. Westminster Abbey. Funeral of the Late Thomas Hardy, O.M. Monday, 16th January, 1928, at 2 p.m. Admit Bearer to South Transept.**

Eighty-seven and increasingly frail, Hardy had been ill for a month when he suffered a fatal heart attack on 11 January 1928, with his wife Florence, her sister Eva, and the family doctor in attendance. Sydney Cockerell, who had been designated as one of Hardy's literary executors along with Florence and J.M. Barrie, was also at Max Gate and

ensured that Hardy's death was announced on the BBC news that evening. However, Cockerell did not feel the need to confine his role to exclusively literary matters and immediately focused on details of Hardy's funeral and burial. His interference caused great distress for Florence and for Hardy's surviving siblings and extended family.

Ignoring Hardy's explicit instructions that 'I be buried in Stinsford Churchyard Dorset ...'[41] Cockerell and Barrie bullied a vulnerable Florence in order to ensure Hardy's funeral and burial in Westminster Abbey. Barrie, armed with the support of Prime Minster Stanley Baldwin and others, approached the Dean of Westminster who approved Hardy's burial in Poets' Corner, stating that 'it was T.H'.s proper resting place ... the ceremony fixed for Monday, 16 January, at 2 p.m'.[42] Hardy's siblings 'were entirely stunned by these developments and especially by the news that their brother's body would have to be cremated and only his ashes given to the Abbey burial'.[43] Kate described the cremation as 'another staggering blow'. The grief-stricken Florence was placed in an impossible position and, unable to withstand Cockerell's pressure, she reluctantly agreed. During a visit from the Revd. Cowley, the local vicar, a compromise was suggested; Hardy's heart would be removed and buried in Stinsford. While Cowley believed that 'this decision will give great satisfaction to Dorset people' the notion of removing Hardy's heart was widely perceived as 'macabre and even grotesquely offensive'. To his friend Gosse it was 'medieval butchery' and for Edward Clodd, it was 'very repellent'.[44] The result was three simultaneous services on January 16: 'a civic observance at St. Peter's Dorchester ... the heart burial at Stinsford attended by Henry Hardy; and the national act of remembrance in Westminster Abbey, organized by the Macmillans and attended by Florence and Kate Hardy, at which the prime minister, the leader of the opposition, and six prominent men of letters – Barrie, Galsworthy, Gosse, Housman, Kipling and Shaw – were among the pall-bearers'.[45]

**120 Florence Hardy's printed 'thank-you' card acknowledging expressions of sympathy on the death of Thomas Hardy.**

Overwhelmed by expressions of sympathy, Florence Hardy sent this card with a printed message reading 'Mrs Thomas Hardy sends you her heartfelt thanks for your very kind expression of sympathy. She has been much comforted by the countless public and private tributes to her husband'. The card shown here was sent to the Giffords, the family of Hardy's first wife, with whom both Hardy and Florence had maintained a friendly relationship. It bears an additional and quite warm inscription from Florence, 'With real gratitude & real memories'.

**121 Acme News Pictures 'Famous Writer Unveils Monument' Original photograph of Sir J.M. Barrie unveiling Hardy statue in Dorchester, 2 September 1931. With: Order of Proceedings at the Unveiling of the Memorial Statue of Thomas Hardy, O.M. Dorchester, 2 September 1931.**

Immediately after Hardy's funeral service, Sydney Cockerell had raised the question of a public memorial and went so far as to draft a letter on the subject. The letter, which 'asserted Hardy's dislike of what he called utilitarian memorials... and his preference for those that were commemorative and nothing else,' was published in *The Times* on 17 January 1928. In February 1928, the Thomas Hardy Memorial Fund was established to raise funds to build a library to house Hardy's works, to ensure the preservation of the birthplace, and to erect 'an obelisk on a suitable site in the neighbourhood'. However, the amount raised was only sufficient to finance the monument and Florence had to cope with Cockerell's continued interference over its location. Local residents opposed the 'erection of the obelisk on the heathland,' favouring instead a statue such as the one erected for William Barnes in Dorchester itself. Resentful of Cockerell's machinations and 'domineering manner', both Florence and Hardy's sister Kate supported the idea of a statue.[46] At a meeting at Max Gate in September, sculptor Eric Kennington (1888–1960) was selected to design a statue of Hardy that would be erected at the upper end of

Dorchester High Street. On 2 September 1931, the completed statue, a seated life-like figure of Hardy, was unveiled by J.M. Barrie. In his speech he said of Hardy, 'there were years, certainly, when I thought him the most unhappy man I'd ever known; but if he had escaped his weird, we could not have had our Hardy'.[47]

**122 Florence Hardy's Smith Premier portable typewriter. With a carbon typescript of 'Private Memorandum. Information for Mrs. Hardy in the preparation of a biography'.**

**Thomas Hardy. *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy*. Edited by Michael Millgate. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, (1985). Reconstruction of *Early Life* and *Later Years*.**

Manufactured no earlier than 1923, this Smith Premier portable typewriter owned by Florence Hardy was in all probability used to type Max Gate correspondence, as well as the 'private memorandum' (shown here) and portions of the biography of Hardy that was published under her name (see 'Later Years'). In order to assist Florence in finishing the 'biography', Hardy left her the 'raw materials', including a forty-one page typescript, notes, and this 'private memorandum'. The 'memorandum' allowed her to make whatever revisions she believed to be necessary, especially the removal of whatever seemed 'indiscreet, belittling, monotonous, trivial, provocative, or in other ways unadvisable'. Florence's additions and revisions were extensive and while 'the narrative remains essentially Hardy's, it omits a good deal of what he originally wrote, and includes, especially in its later stages, much that he neither wrote nor saw'.[48]

Using the surviving typescripts, Michael Millgate has reconstructed, as much as the evidence allowed, the text of the 'biography' as it stood after Hardy's final revisions. The resulting text, 'published over Hardy's name, as *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy* – the title the work had borne in typescript', provides a 'clearer and fuller sense of what Hardy wished to say from beyond the grave: the self-image that he sought to project to posterity'.[49]

## 'DON'T JUDGE A BOOK BY ITS COVER': POPULAR EDITIONS OF THE NOVELS

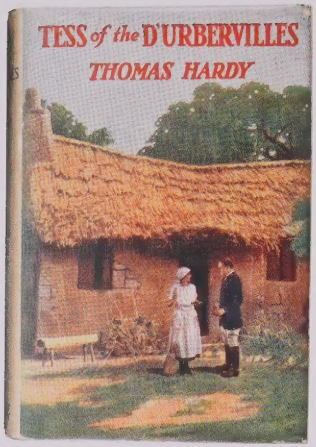
**123 Thomas Hardy. *The Return of the Native*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, circa 1940. The 'Universal Library'. With a coloured pictorial art deco style dustwrapper, designed by Alfred Skrenda.**

George T. Grosset and Alexander Dunlap founded this imprint in 1898 'as a way of extending books to the masses'. While Grosset & Dunlap are best known for the publication of juvenile series, including 'Nancy Drew' and' The Hardy Boys', they also reprinted books for adults in series such as the 'Universal Library'. This bold, art-deco style dustwrapper for *The Return of the Native* was designed by Alfred Skrenda (1897–1978). Skrenda provided the cover art for several Grosset & Dunlap publications, including similarly striking deco designs for two other novels in the 'Universal Library' series: Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* and Alexandre Dumas' *The Man in the Iron Mask*.

**124 Thomas Hardy. *The Return of the Native*. New York: The Modern Library, circa 1950. 'No. 121.'**

Started in 1917 by Albert Boni of the firm Boni & Liveright, 'The Modern Library' aimed to 'make available to the ever increasing mass of readers, good titles by famous writers'. The volumes were issued in inexpensive but attractive bindings at a cost of 60 cents. In 1925 the series was purchased by Bennett Cerf, who made several changes and also commissioned the design for the distinctive 'torchbearer' logo, which remains the emblem of Modern Library to this day.

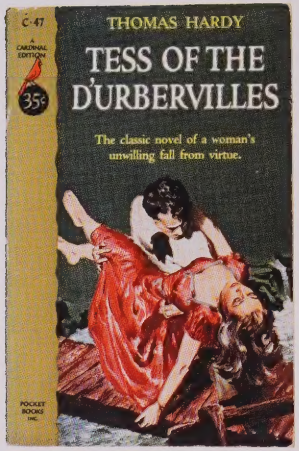
The 1920s and 1930s saw the issue of four of Hardy's novels in the Modern Library series: *Jude the Obscure*, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, *The Return of the Native*, and *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*. Each of these titles has appeared in various bindings and dustwrappers from the 1920s to the present day. Shown here is a copy of *The Return of the Native* in the dustwrapper with a woodcut illustration designed by Paul Galdone (1907–1986), who designed the dustwrappers for all four of the Hardy titles, as well as for nearly forty other Modern Library publications.




125 Thomas Hardy. *Tess of the d'Urbervilles: A Pure Woman Faithfully Presented.* New York: A.L. Burt, [1924]. Photoplay edition, with stills from the MGM silent film starring Blanche Sweet as 'Tess' and Conrad Nagel as 'Angel Clare'.

'Photoplay' editions draw their name from the silent film and early sound era when motion pictures were known as 'photoplays'. These editions, published as movie tie-ins by Grosset & Dunlap and A.L. Burt, flourished through the 1920s and 1930s. They were almost always reprints of novels and typically featured artwork or scenes from a film.

This photoplay edition reproduces several stills from the now lost 1924 MGM production of *Tess*. No expense was spared in this American production and the majority of the film was shot 'on location'; most notably the scene of Tess's arrest at Stonehenge. While the film followed the plot fairly closely, the setting was moved forward to the 1920s. In addition, the tragic conclusion of the novel was one of two endings filmed. In the alternate ending Tess is spared the gallows, enabling theatre managers to choose which ending they would screen for their audiences.




126 Thomas Hardy. *Tess of the D'Urbervilles.* New York: Pocket Books, 1952. Cardinal Edition No. C-47.

The design for this edition of *Tess* was produced by Barye Phillips (1924–1969) who started his career in the advertising department of Columbia Pictures and began to design cover art in 1943. Best known for his work on Fawcett's Gold Medal series, Phillips's work was much in demand and over the course of his career he produced cover art for Avon, Bantam, Dell, Signet, and Pocket Books.

His cover for *Tess* is characteristic of pulp covers; a dramatic yet not an entirely accurate representation of the content, depicting a scene of high drama in which a man carries an unconscious woman, wearing a low cut dress, over an unstable wooden bridge while a storm and rough water swirl around them. As usual, the slightly lurid cover illustration is reinforced by the enticing plot synopsis on the rear cover: 'a tragic and beautiful story of a woman who was seduced by the man she hated and cast aside by the man she loved.'

127 Thomas Hardy. *Tess of the D'Urbervilles: A Pure Woman.* [Harpenden, Herts]: Pulp! The Classics, [2013]. Cover art by David Mann and cover design by Elsa Mathern.

Started in 2013 by Oldcastle Books, the 'Pulp! The Classics' imprint seeks to give 'favourite classic novels original retro covers in pulp fiction style – with a dash of wry humour'. David Mann's pop-culture-inspired pulp covers incorporate film and television stars, with Marilyn Monroe as the model for 'Tess'. Commenting on his cover art for *Tess*, Mann said 'the head is that of a famous Hollywood sex object from the olden days. There was going to be a pipe dangling from her mouth in keeping with Tess's agrarian credentials … somebody made the suggestion of a bottle of whiskey … with a comedy straw'.

128 Thomas Hardy. *The Return of the Native.* New York: Pocket Books, [1939]. Pocket Books No. 20.

Inspired by the success of Penguin Books in Britain, Robert DeGraff partnered with Simon & Shuster and founded Pocket Books in 1939. Their production of the first mass-market, pocket sized paperbacks revolutionized the American publishing industry. With massive print runs of ten thousand copies and a price of twenty-five cents, they sold 1.5 million copies by the end of the first year. The cover art, designed to sell the book, set the standard for the early publishers of paperback fiction such as Dell and Avon. While it was considered to be very good, the art work for Pocket Books varied widely, and often did not accurately reflect the book's content – as evidenced by this cover illustration of *The Return of the Native* which depicts a couple in twentieth century dress, standing in front of what appears to be the US Capitol.

129 Thomas Hardy. *Jude the Obscure.* New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1965. Dell Laurel Edition 4300.

Founded in 1921 by George T. Delacorte, Jr., Dell Publishing was one of the largest publishers of pulp magazines from the 1920s through the 1940s. In 1943 Delacorte, with the co-operation of Lloyd Smith of Western Publishing, created Dell Books to publish a line of mass-market paperbacks. In an attempt to differentiate their paperbacks from those of their competitor, Pocket Books, Dell sought to develop its own 'look' which initially included 'vibrant airbrushed covers, lists of the books' characters and 'tantalizer-pages'. In an attempt to entice the reader, the publisher has added the teasing tagline 'the novel that shocked the Victorian world.'

This cover was designed by the American illustrator, Richard Powers (1921–1996). Although he is best remembered as a science fiction illustrator, Powers began his career designing covers in the conventional pulp paperback style. However, he also designed cover art for mainstream fiction, including several 'classic' literary titles published by Dell, three novels by Hardy among them. In addition to this striking illustration for *Jude*, he provided cover art for the Dell editions of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* and *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, all executed in a similar style.

130 Thomas Hardy. *Una Donna Pura (Tess dei D'Urberville).* Milano: Casa Editrice Sonzogno, [1929].

This edition was published by Sonzogno, one of the oldest Italian publishing houses. The cover art was designed by Sergio Bompard (1890–1940), best known for his art deco postcard and fashion illustrations of the 1920s and 1930s. While his design for the cover of this edition of *Tess* does reflect the rural background of the dairy-maid heroine, the 'bonnet' on the woman depicted bears a striking resemblance to that of his 1918 postcard of a flapper style 'bathing belle'.

131 Thomas Hardy. *Jude l'obscur.* Paris: Albin Michel, 1950.

The first French translation of *Jude the Obscure* was published by Paul Ollendorff in 1901. Subsequent translations followed, including this 'Livre de poche' edition, translated by F.W. Laparra with a preface by Edmond Jaloux. Unfortunately there is no attribution for the cover art on this mass market paperback.

## 'WESSEXMANIA AND MR. HARDY'

'Wessex is at once "any and every place" and its dwellers ("the people in most of the novels") are "beings in whose hearts and minds that which is apparently local should be really universal."' (General Preface to the Novels and Poems, 1912).

The identification of Hardy's works with the fictional world of Wessex began with Hardy himself as he viewed 'Wessex' in a proprietary way and did not hesitate to invoke it in order to increase the commercial success of his work. He clearly demonstrated this with the systematic 'Wessexisation' of the novels that was very much a part of his extensive revisions for the Osgood, McIlvaine edition (1895–1896) and again for the 'Wessex Edition' of 1912. However, Hardy's identification with Wessex proved to be a mixed blessing, as it was frequently invoked in a negative way by critics of his work. The extremely hostile review of *The Pursuit of the Well-Beloved* in the *London World* on 24 March 1897 is a case in point, with the reviewer noting that, 'Of all forms of sex-mania in fiction we have no hesitation in pronouncing the most unpleasant to be the Wessex-mania of Mr. Thomas Hardy'.

By the turn of the century, the success of Hardy's novels had firmly established Dorset in the public imagination as 'Wessex'. The inevitable result was an ever increasing number of 'Hardy pilgrims' making their way to Dorset. These 'pilgrims' were armed with guidebooks of various sorts, many of which exhibited a lack of familiarity with both Hardy's novels and the landscape of Dorset itself. Although Hardy was wary of encouraging any further intrusions on his privacy, he did agree to co-operate with the photographer Hermann Lea, when he approached him with the idea of producing an accurate guide to Hardy country. While Hardy gave his full co-operation, he stipulated that references to the poetry also be included, and then provided Lea with the identifications of specific places as well as 'the precise phrasing for the explanations of his conception of Wessex'. The finished work, illustrated with Lea's photographs, *A*

*Handbook to the Wessex Country of Thomas Hardy's Novels and Poems,* was published in 1905. In 1911 Lea convinced Hardy to agree to the 'preparation of a volume entirely devoted to the identification of Hardyan places' which was published as *Thomas Hardy's Wessex*, and issued in 1913 as a supplementary volume to the Wessex Edition.

The proliferation of guidebooks to 'Wessex' and books about 'Hardy country' has continued unabated to the present day. The inextricable link between 'Hardy and Dorset' and 'Hardy and Wessex' has only increased with time, with the result that the Wessex/Hardy industry has expanded exponentially, so that both Wessex and Hardy are now routinely invoked in the advertising and marketing of a diverse range of products.

**132 Christopher & John Greenwood. *Map of the County of Dorset from an actual Survey made in the Years 1825 & 1826.* London: Greenwood & Co., 4 July 1829. Hand-coloured engraved map.**

In the 1820s the firm of Greenwood & Co. set out to compete with the Ordnance Survey and produce large detailed maps of the English counties based on a 'one inch to the mile scale'. These remarkably accurate maps marked the boundaries of the counties, parishes, churches and chapels, castles and quarries, farmhouses and gentleman's seats, heaths and common land, as well as the distances between towns. The map of the county of Dorset, with an attractive vignette engraving of St. Mary's Church, Sherborne, shows the various actual locations that Hardy used as a basis for fictional locations in his geographic construct of 'Wessex'.

**133 Thomas Hardy. *The Works of Thomas Hardy in Prose and Verse: with Prefaces and Notes.* 'Wessex Edition.' London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1912–1931. In twenty-four volumes.**

Of the five major collected editions of Hardy's works, the 'Wessex Novels Edition' published by Osgood McIlvaine in 1895–1896, and the 'Wessex Edition,' published by Macmillan in 1912, are the most important for Hardy scholarship.

The Wessex Edition, issued at the height of Hardy's career, is noteworthy for many reasons. It represents the closest that one can come to a text finally authorized by Hardy himself. However, it is important to note that the Wessex Edition builds on the extensive revisions that Hardy undertook for the first collected edition of his works, published by Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., sixteen years earlier. For this earlier edition, Hardy took the opportunity to meticulously revise every novel, changing topographical descriptions, place names, and distances in order to align them more closely with each other and with his now well-developed conception of 'Wessex' – the half-real, half-imagined landscape of his fiction and poetry. He also wrote a special preface for each novel and reinstated much of the sexual content that had been bowdlerized in the serializations and in the earlier 'volume' editions of his works. For these reasons it has been described as 'the single most important publishing event in Hardy's career as a writer of fiction, and marks a point of significance in the development of almost every book'.[1]

For the Wessex Edition of 1912, Hardy reread and revised his fiction for the last time, working from re-issues of the Osgood McIlvaine edition, supplied by Macmillan. While the revisions for this edition, though numerous, are neither as extensive nor as radical as those of 1896, Hardy was anxious that his literary legacy be as accurate and consistent as possible. In 1911, he wrote to Frederick Macmillan 'that unless I correct those proofs myself, there will be errors in the text – of a minute (the worst) kind – that will endanger the reception of the edition by our reviewers & by impairing its value in a literary point of view, injure its commercial success'.[2]

The Wessex Edition is important for other reasons as well. Hardy added to it a 'General Preface to the Novels and Poems,' dated October 1911, in which he classified his novels into three categories: 'Novels of Character and Environment'; 'Romances and Fantasies'; and 'Novels of Ingenuity'. These rubrics provide the organizational structure for the Wessex Edition, and in creating them Hardy would appear to be separating the major from the lesser works – with the seven great novels (*Tess*, *Far from the Madding Crowd*, *Jude*, etc.) appearing in the first category). In this preface, Hardy also delineated for the first time the topographical boundaries of Wessex as 'a province bounded on the north by the Thames, on the south by the

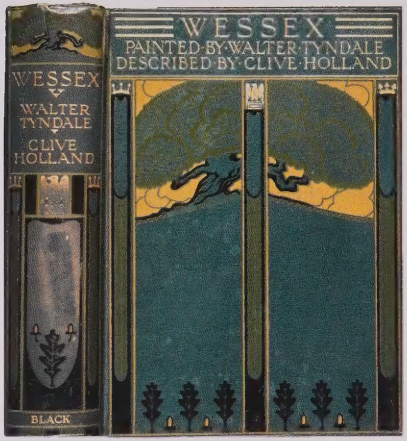
English Channel, on the east by a line running from Hayling Island to Windsor Forest, and on the west by the Cornish coast'. Other features of this important edition further develop the idea of Wessex as a place half-real, half-mythical. Each volume contains a fold-out map of Wessex that blends existing place names in Dorset with the fictitious ones of Hardy's own creation. Similarly, the frontispiece illustration for each volume is an actual photograph of a 'Wessex' scene, taken by Hermann Lea, who worked in close consultation with Hardy to identify and photograph corresponding 'real' locations in Dorset.

**134 Clive Holland. *Wessex*. Painted by Walter Tyndale. Described by Clive Holland. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1906.**

Holland's *Wessex* contains reproductions of Tyndale's watercolours of the landscapes of the west country of England, some of which had inspired scenes in Hardy's 'Wessex' novels. Published in an edition of two thousand copies, it contains seventy-five illustrations in colour and was the first of the 'county books' to be issued by A. & C. Black.

Walter Tyndale (1855–1943) began his career as a painter of portraits in oils, but in the 1890s he began to paint watercolours. Tyndale first met Hardy while on a painting trip in Dorset in 1904, and invited him to a private viewing when the 'Wessex' paintings were shown at the Leicester Galleries in London the following year. Hardy was pleased by the paintings themselves, commenting that 'you seem to have conveyed in your renderings that underpicture, as one may say that mood or temperament, which pertains to each particular spot portrayed, and to no other on earth'.[3] Clive Holland (see Max Gate) had first written to Hardy about 'Wessex' in 1897, proposing they collaborate on a book of Holland's photographs that would identify places in Hardy's novels. While Hardy declined, in 1899 Holland published a three-part article in *Bookmen*, 'Thomas Hardy's Country: Scenes from the Wessex Novels'.

While he declined to write an introduction for the Holland/Tyndale collaboration, Hardy did agree to go over the proofs in order to make 'corrections of errors in absolute fact'.[4] He particularly took issue with Holland over the inclusion of the story of 'my seeing the




hanging when a boy' adding that it 'seemed rather below the dignity of the rest of the book ... I endeavoured to correct the most fictitious parts of it'.[5] Whatever Hardy's misgivings about Holland's text, the book was well received by critics who praised Holland's 'thorough grip of his subject' and the 'excellent draughtsmanship' and 'care to architectural detail' of Tyndale's paintings.

**135 Geoffrey Grigson (1905–1985). *Wessex. A New Guide Book.* London: Collins, [1951]. 'About Britain No. 2.'**

In addition to writing the text for two of the volumes, Geoffrey Grigson also acted as general editor of this series of thirteen guidebooks. These guidebooks were published for the 'Festival of Britain', an exhibition that took place across the United Kingdom in the summer of 1951 in order to 'celebrate the nation's recovery from the second world war'. Reasonably priced at three shillings, each followed the same format: ninety-four pages in total, with a descriptive text by the author, a gazetteer, illustrations, and tour maps for motorists.

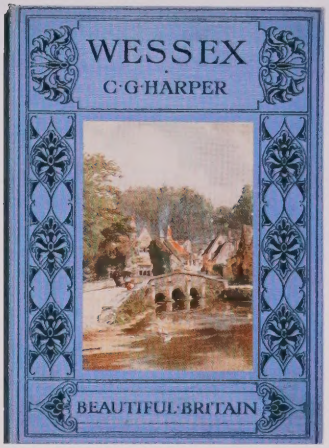
**136 Arthur Mee (1875–1943). *Dorset Thomas Hardy's Country*. London: Hodder and Stoughton, [1939]. 'The King's England.' Inscribed by Constance Dugdale to her sister Eva Dugdale, 'Christmas 1942'.**

Arthur Mee was a successful journalist with the *Daily Mail* and *The Children's Encyclopaedia*, a fortnightly magazine for children he started in 1908. In 1936 he and his researchers 'set out to see England and record all they saw'. Over the course of the next five years, they undertook what Mee called 'the first census of the ancient and beautiful and curious historic possessions of England since the motor car came to make it possible'. The completed series of forty guidebooks were 'written without technical words and phrases so that they would be accessible to the common people'. This copy is inscribed by Florence Hardy's sister Constance Dugdale to their younger sister, Eva.

**137 Charles G. Harper (1863–1943). *Wessex*. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1911. 'Beautiful Britain.'**

This volume in the 'Beautiful Britain' series is not the only book about 'Wessex' by artist Charles G. Harper. Hardy first became aware of Harper in 1904 when his illustrated work, *The Hardy Country: Literary Landmarks of the Wessex Novels*, was originally published. Hardy was clearly unimpressed, writing to Florence Henniker in December of that year, 'A man named Harper, a stranger to me, has written a book called "The Hardy Country", with a manner of authority, though I knew nothing about it till I saw the book, & it has numerous errors'.[6] In 1911, Harper's illustrations of 'Wessex' re-appeared in this volume, one of a series of guidebooks in the 'Beautiful Britain' series issued by A. & C. Black from 1911 to 1924.

**138 Bertram C.A. Windle (1858–1929). *The Wessex of Thomas Hardy. Illustrated by Edmund H. New*. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1902. Limited edition, 1 of 50 copies in white buckram.**




Bertram Windle, an anthropologist, President of Queen's College Cork, and Chair of Philosophy at St. Michael's College at the University of Toronto, was also the author of several books on scientific, archaeological, historical, and topographical subjects. In the autumn of 1896, Windle approached Hardy with a request to supply identifications of 'Wessex' place names for a new edition of Murray's *Handbook for Residents and Travellers in Wilts and Dorset*. In his reply Hardy provided, 'with pleasure,' a lengthy list of actual place names and their equivalents in the 'Wessex Novels', adding that 'such information in the Handbook will perhaps relieve me of the many letters I receive on the subject, & perhaps serve to correct the erroneous identifications of places by journalists & others'.[7]

Later in 1896, Hardy agreed to a further request from Windle to use this information in an article for the *Quarterly Review*, which, in the end, was not published. Instead, Windle incorporated the details about 'locations' into the above work, published after some delay in 1902. Hardy, clearly pleased by the edition, wrote to Windle in November 1901, 'To-day I have had the pleasure of receiving The Wessex book, & have just been looking into its handsome pages. I feel myself wholly unentitled to a gift copy of such a fine edition of a work

to which you have given so much labour & I practically none'.[8] In April of 1902, Hardy took issue with an unsigned and negative review that appeared in *The Guardian*: 'Some unusually distinct misstatements are made by your critic of *The Wessex of Thomas Hardy*. ... Your reviewers' remarks upon the place-names, too, are full of misrepresentations, though I cannot here enter into the necessary detail for explaining why.'[9]

**139 Vera Jesty. *Hardy's Wessex Today*. With an introduction by Michael Millgate. Dorchester: The Mellstock Press, 1990.**

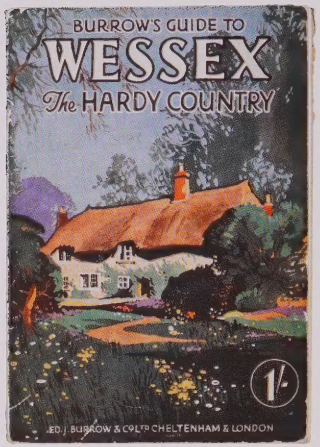
This volume is the first (and to date the only volume published) of a proposed series designed to reproduce all of Hermann Lea's 240 original photographs of Hardy's Dorset along with their modern equivalents. Between 1985 and 1990 Vera Jesty set out to photograph the same locations that were depicted in Lea's earlier photographs. In this work, Jesty's photographs are juxtaposed with Lea's and 'show that the scenes are relatively if precariously unaltered even at the present day'.

**140 Beer coaster. Eldridge Pope & Co. Traditional Thomas Hardy Country Bitter.**

Issued by the same company that produced 'Hardy Ale', this coaster for 'Hardy Country Bitter' reproduces an image of Hardy as well as a quote from chapter forty-two of *Far from the Madding Crowd*: 'Too much liquor is bad, and leads us to that horned man in the smoky house; but after all, many people haven't the gift of enjoying a wet, and since we be highly favoured with a power that way, we should make the most o't.'

**141 Bottle of Thomas Hardy's Ale.**

In 1968, in order to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of Hardy's death and the renovation of the Dorset inn named for his novel, *The Trumpet-Major*, the Eldridge Pope Brewery created this ale that they believed 'the author had imagined'. The brewery printed a quotation




from chapter sixteen of *The Trumpet-Major* on the label of each bottle: 'It was of the most beautiful colour that the eye of an artist in beer could desire; full in body, yet brisk as a volcano; piquant, yet without twang; luminous as an autumn; free from streakiness of taste, but finally, rather heady.'

**142 Alison D. Murray. *Burrow's Guide to Wessex the Hardy Country*. Third edition, revised. London: Ed. J. Burrow, circa 1930.**

Although trained as a chemist, Edward J. Burrow (1869–1935) was a talented etcher and photographer. Eager to turn his hobby into a commercial venture, he founded E.J. Burrow and Co. in 1901 and began to reproduce his photographs on postcards. In 1904 he published the first of the 'Burrow's Guides' and by 1930 the firm had produced guides covering hundreds of different destinations throughout Britain and Europe.

First published in 1928, this third edition with its colourful cover depicting Hardy's birthplace, contains two maps and numerous illustrations from special drawings by Margaret Holman. The chapter headings for Alison Murray's descriptive text are quotations taken

from Hardy's novels. 'The imaginative names given by Hardy in his novels to places in Wessex appear in the Index in italics, and the actual names are printed before or after them in ordinary type'.

**143 William Mathie Parker (1891–1973). *On the Track of the Wessex Novels. A Guide to the Hardy Country.* Poole: J. Looker, The Wessex Press, 1924.**

In June of 1924, the publisher J. Looker sent Hardy proofs of this work, which was yet another of the guides to Hardy country that appeared in his lifetime. Sent over the signature of his secretary, Hardy's response was polite but not encouraging, stating 'he regrets to say that he is physically unable to read them critically, but as the author appears to have availed himself of previous guides of the same description Mr. Hardy imagines the indications of real places found in the novels to have been as fairly well followed as in the other cases'.[10]

**144 *Great Western Railway of England. (The National Holiday Line). Wonderful Wessex. The Homeland of Thomas Hardy, William Barnes and John Lothrop Motley.* London: Published by the Great Western Railway Company, 1913.**

Founded in 1833, the Great Western Railway linked London with the midlands, the south-west and west of England and most of Wales. It became known as the 'Holiday Line' and beginning in 1908, they actively marketed themselves as such and issued a series of maps, postcards, posters, jig-saw puzzles, and guidebooks. In July 1908, they issued the 370-page, illustrated book, *Wilts, Somerset and Dorset; Wonderful Wessex.* The introduction notes that Dorset is primarily known through the work of William Barnes and Thomas Hardy, and that 'the novels of the latter contain pictures of Wessex life, Wessex scenery, and Wessex customs which have brought thousands of strangers to the beautiful hinterland'. The above title is one of a series of smaller illustrated booklets issued free of charge by the Great Western Railway in order to provide 'a variety of useful information in condensed form'. In addition to the map of railway routes, it contains a small folding map of 'Wonderful Wessex' and a section devoted to 'Sherborne and Dorchester and the Hardy Country' and includes a photograph of Hardy's birthplace.

**145 British Airways 1978 In-Flight Menu Abu Dhabi to Kuwait & London.**

In 1978 British Airways issued a series of in-flight menus featuring famous British authors including Austen, Wordsworth, Shakespeare, and Hardy.

**146 Pillbox with photo of Thomas Hardy and his dog Wessex.**

Hardy's image has been used to market a variety of merchandise including guidebooks, calendars, mugs, cigarette cases, coasters, and t-shirts. The photograph by Walter Thomas reproduced on this pillbox shows Hardy at age eighty, with his terrier, Wessex, in the study at Max Gate. Florence Hardy brought Wessex to Max Gate in 1913 and while she and Hardy adored him, the ill-tempered terrier was the scourge of the Hardys' servants and guests alike. Visitors often commented on the terrier's foul-temper and complete lack of manners; Cynthia Asquith described Wessex as 'the most despotic dog she had ever encountered, he was not under, but on, the table, walking about quite unchecked and contesting with me every forkful of food on its way from plate to mouth'.[11]

**147 Player's Cigarettes card with an illustration of 'Tess'. A series of 25 Characters from Fiction. 'No. 22 Tess.' Issued by John Player and Sons. From original illustrations by H.M. Brock. Circa 1933.**

**Ogden's Guinea Gold Cigarettes card. No. 83 Thomas Hardy. Circa 1900.**

Player's commissioned British illustrator H.M. Brock (1875–1960) to provide illustrations for some of their cigarette cards including the '25 Characters from Fiction' series. The image of 'Tess' that Brock depicts

is described on the rear of the card by a quote from the novel: 'The eye returns to the girl in the pink cotton jacket, the most finely-drawn figure of them all.'

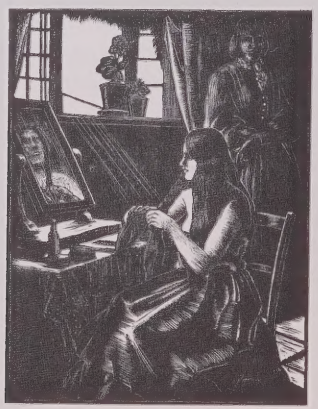
Ogden's was one of the earliest companies to issue photographic cigarette cards. This card, which reproduces an Elliott & Fry photograph of Thomas Hardy, appeared in the Guinea Gold 'Famous People' series (1894–1907). The printed text at the bottom of the card identifies Hardy as the author of '*Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, *Jude the Obscure* and other famous novels'.

## AFTER HARDY
### Adaptations & Interpretations

**148 Thomas Hardy. *The Return of the Native. With Illustrations from Woodcuts by Clare Leighton*. London: Macmillan, 1929. One of five hundred copies signed by Leighton.**

In 1928 Macmillan commissioned Clare Leighton (1898–1989) to illustrate this edition of *The Return of the Native* to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the novel's publication. Ian Rogerson describes it as 'one of the most ambitious twentieth-century illustrated books, with twelve mounted full-page wood engravings and forty-nine smaller head and tail pieces'.[1] In stark contrast to the tentative style of Arthur Hopkins' illustrations for the original serialization of the novel in *Belgravia*, Leighton's style is characterized by strong lines, bold use of light and dark tones, and an ability to capture the emotional subtleties and theatrical power of Hardy's descriptions.

Clare Leighton was one of the great wood engravers and illustrators of the twentieth century. British-born, she lived and worked in



*The sun, where it could catch it, made a mirror of Thomasin's hair*

England during the early part of her career and immigrated to America in 1939. When Macmillan commissioned her to illustrate this 1929 edition of *The Return of the Native*, she prepared by taking lengthy sketching tours of the Dorset countryside to immerse herself in Hardy's Wessex.

**149 Thomas Hardy. *Return of the Native.* New York: Heritage Press, 1942. With illustrations by Agnes Miller Parker.**

**The frontispiece shown here depicts the character of 'Eustacia Vye' gazing at a bonfire on Egdon Heath.**

Agnes Miller Parker (1895–1980) was a Scottish artist and illustrator best known for her striking wood engravings. Although Parker is less well known than contemporaries such as Clare Leighton, Gwen Raverat, and Robert Gibbings, her black and white engravings have been used as the illustrations in numerous books, including five modern editions of Hardy's novels. Four titles – *Far from the Madding Crowd*, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, and *Jude the Obscure* were published by The Limited Editions Club, while the fifth, *The Return of the Native* (shown here), was published by Heritage Press. While designing the illustrations for the Heritage Press, Parker commented that 'Hardy writes so well that illustrators seem to me superfluous'. She chose to focus on the night scenes, which were well suited to her striking black and white engravings, and she 'successfully captured the restless, brooding nature of Eustacia and that of Reddleman'. Unfortunately, both the fine details and dramatic effects of her illustrations are somewhat diminished by the poor quality of the paper used by the Heritage Press. However, such is not the case with her work for the Limited Editions Club – with its standard for high quality production, the illustrations show Miller to be a 'sensitive interpreter of Hardy's prose'.

**150 Thomas Hardy. *Under the Greenwood Tree. A Rural Painting of the Dutch School.* Illustrated by Keith Henderson. London: Chatto & Windus, 1913.**

As noted earlier, *Under the Greenwood Tree* differs radically from every other Hardy novel, from its size, to its overall warmth, humour, and optimistic tone. Hardy's friend, the critic Horace Moule, reviewing the book in *Saturday Review* (September, 1872), specifically praised the 'subsidiary scenes, such as the description of the carol-singers' rounds, the village-party at the tranter's, the interview of the choir with the vicar,' that support the basic love-and-marriage plot. He summarized by saying that 'each one of these ... contributes its share to a really pleasant and entertaining whole'.[2] It was indeed these very characteristics that served to increase the book's popularity. Publishers quickly became aware of the marketing potential of *Under the Greenwood Tree* as a Christmas story, a love story, and a pastoral idyll, and published attractive illustrated editions which capitalized on its potential as a 'gift book'. In fact Tinsley was the first to do so when he issued a special illustrated edition for Christmas 1875.[3]

The volume shown here, a later Chatto & Windus edition, falls within this same tradition – finely printed, bound in gilt-decorated green cloth, and beautifully illustrated with pastel watercolours by Keith Henderson (1883–1982), a Scottish artist who did significant work as a book illustrator and poster artist. Throughout the 1920s, Henderson illustrated books for Chatto & Windus and other London literary publishers such as Jonathan Cape, Duckworth, and Faber.

151 Thomas Hardy. *Selected Poems of Thomas Hardy. With Portrait & Title Page Design Engraved on the Wood by William Nicholson.* London: Philip Lee Warner, Publisher to the Medici Society, 1921. One of 1020 copies.

This Medici Society edition of Hardy's poetry was printed at the Chiswick Press, using the Riccardi Press font. Philip Lee Warner (1878–1925) co-founded the Medici Society with Eustace Gurney (1876–1927) in 1908 in order to make the work of artists more widely available through the use of cutting edge, high-end colour reproductions. The striking frontispiece portrait of Hardy is a woodcut by the painter and portrait artist William Nicholson (1872–1949), who used a combination of wood engraving and lithography to produce distinctive illustrations that are recognizable by their forceful images, heavy use of black, and hand-drawn borders.

152 Thomas Hardy. *The Convergence of the Twain. Lines on the Loss of the Titanic.* Toronto: Aliquando Press, 2006.

This Aliquando Press edition is one of a limited edition of 50 copies designed and printed by William Rueter. The design of the Aliquando book echoes the design of a small edition of Hardy's famous poem on the sinking of the 'Titanic', published by Macmillan & Co. in 1912. The Macmillan edition (which was limited to ten copies) was bound in blue paper boards, with a white paper label on the front, and was roughly 4 x 7 inches in size – much like the Aliquando edition.

153 Thomas Hardy. 'I Looked Up From My Writing.' Included in *Above the Dreamless Dead: World War I in Poetry and Comics*, edited by Chris Duffy. New York: First Second, 2014.

*Above the Dreamless Dead* is an anthology of 'trench poetry' as interpreted by well-known comic artists from North America and Europe, published for the hundredth anniversary of the First World War in 2014. The editor, Chris Duffy (an award-winning comic artist), writes in his introduction that the genesis of this project was a realization that he and many others of his generation knew very little about World War I 'and less about that war's poets'. He invited twenty-eight of his fellow cartoonists and graphic artists to draw cartoon panels for a selection of poems by Wilfrid Owen, Rupert Brooke, Robert Graves, Thomas Hardy, and many others. Three Hardy poems are included in the volume: 'Channel Firing,' illustrated by Luke Pearson, 'I Looked Up from My Writing,' illustrated by Kathryn Immonen and Stuart Immonen, and 'In Time of "The Breaking of Nations"', illustrated by Anders Nilsen.

154 Posy Simmonds (1945- ). *Tamara Drewe*. London: Jonathan Cape, 2007.

This graphic novel is a loose adaptation of *Far from the Madding Crowd* and the title character, Tamara Drewe, is recognizably Hardy's heroine, Bathsheba Everdene, with a modern twist. Tamara is presented as an attractive, ambitious journalist who returns to her native West Country village of 'Ewedown', and stirs up life and passions there. In a 2008 interview in *The Guardian*, Simmonds told Nicholas Wroe that: 'From Hardy I nicked six main characters and some bits of the plot. I do like his moralism and his gloomy endings.' First published as a comic strip which ran in the *Guardian Review* (2005-2006), this cleverly written book is peppered throughout with witty literary allusions and Hardyan 'in-jokes,' and has won several awards, including the 2011 Prix des Critiques de la Bande Dessiné.

155 [Poster]. 'Bleakness Is My Weakness.' *The Guardian* online, 2015.

This attractive glossy poster appeared in the 'Books' section of the 14 January online issue of *The Guardian* with the title: 'Which Thomas Hardy novel is the bleakest?' In order to determine which of Hardy's 'timeless tales contains the most AMPS (abject misery per sentence) they have supplied a 'bleakness key,' which lists events such as suicide, murder, miscarriage, assault, rape, alcoholism, unrequited love, grinding poverty, and animal mutilation. Each type of event has been assigned its own symbol (ie. suicide is designated by a 'noose', murder by a 'knife' and 'death' by a coffin) and the 'grim' events are listed in order of occurrence in each novel. Not surprisingly, *Jude the Obscure* is

ranked as the 'bleakest' of Hardy's novels. In order to provide some perspective, *Jude* is then compared to other contemporary novels – the verdict: 'not even the gloomiest of Hardy's contemporaries can match him for sheer quantity of traumatic incident.' To emphasize Hardy's 'gloominess' even further, we are given a selection of the 'bleakest quotes' and key and word counts for the 'bleakest words' in *Tess*, *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, and *Jude*.

## THEATRE

**156 [Theatre Poster] Mrs. Fiske. Presenting *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* by Lorimer Stoddard. Copyright 1897 by the Strobridge Lith. Co. Cin'ti & New York. Reproduction of the original poster. Courtesy of the NYPL**

The success of *Tess of the d'Urbervilles* on its 1891 publication led to a flurry of interest among theatrical managements in staging a dramatic adaptation of the novel. Hardy was sufficiently engaged by this idea to put substantial effort into the creation of a play-script. Negotiations with various London managements during 1895 and 1896 came to nothing, but in February 1896 Hardy asked his American publisher to act as his agent in negotiations with the American manager Harrison Grey-Fiske. Hardy sent Harper's a version of the play and added 'I shd prefer that my version be adhered to, but I wd consent to a reasonable modification, if indispensable to its production by a first class company'.[4] Arrangements were eventually made for a production in New York beginning the first week of March 1897, with Mrs. Minnie Maddern Fiske in the title role. The script that Hardy supplied to Harper Brothers was so extensively revised by Lorimer Stoddard as effectively to be a new play. Hardy's friend Rebekah Owen, who attended one of the performances, wrote to him describing both Mrs. Fiske's performance and the way the story was 'put on'. While Hardy was unhappy with the changes made by Stoddard, he praised Mrs. Fiske, responding to Owen 'Mrs Fiske seems to be a clever & energetic woman, to whom much credit is due for her persistence in bringing out the play, & for the fervour with which she has thrown herself into it'.[5] Mrs. Fiske reprised her role as

Tess in a 1902 revival and also portrayed Tess in the now lost 1913 silent film version directed by Adolph Zukor.

### New Hardy Players and Others

The New Hardy Players were formed in 2004 on the occasion of the 100th birthday of Norrie Woodall, then the last living member of the original Hardy Players and the sister of Gertrude Bugler, who starred in the Hardy Players production of 'Tess'. For their first performance in 2005, the artistic director Tim Laycock adapted the 1920 Hardy Players' script for *The Return of the Native* for a modern audience.

Over the succeeding years the New Hardy Players have mounted several productions of Hardy's work using local settings and authentic costumes, and often retaining the scripts used by the original Hardy Players.

157. [New Hardy Players – Programme] The New Hardy Players present *The Woodlanders* by Thomas Hardy. Adapted by Emily Fearn and Elizabeth Gale, 2013. Performed at Max Gate and other local venues.

158 [New Hardy Players – Programme] The New Hardy Players present *Wessex Scenes: A Drama of the Napoleonic Wars*. From Thomas Hardy's *The Dynasts*. Directed by Tim Laycock and Emma Hill. Performed at 'Max Gate on the croquet lawn', 2014. 'An entertainment devised by Hardy himself as a fundraiser for the Red Cross in the First World War.'

159 [New Hardy Players – Programme] The New Hardy Players present *The Return of the Native*. By Thomas Hardy. Directed by Howard Payton (2015). Performed at various local venues.

160 [Theatre poster] Worcester Theatre Company present Thomas Hardy's *Far from the Madding Crowd*. Dramatised by Sally Hedges. Monday 9th to Saturday 14th September, circa 1985. Theatre Royal Bath.

Beyond the New Hardy Players, there has been a variety of adaptations of Hardy's work mounted by regional theatres in the United Kingdom and North America. In addition to this dramatic adaptation of *Far from the Madding Crowd*, Hedges also did several adaptations for BBC Radio 4 including Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* (1992) and *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1994).

161 [Theatre Poster] *Jude the Obscure* . Parts I and II. Adapted from the novel by Thomas Hardy by Ian Finley, Bruce Benedict, Jerome Davis, and Jonathan Fitts. Directed by Jerome Davis. 12 Apr – 5 May 2012. Burning Coal Theatre Company, Raleigh, North Carolina.

On first consideration, Hardy's grim final novel seems an unlikely candidate for a musical adaptation. However, this 2012 production by the Burning Coal Theatre Company was preceded by the 2007 musical adaptation by Nicola Jane Buttigieg, which was staged in London in 2007. In 2010 Ian Finley, the resident playwright of the Burning Coal Company, discovered that *Jude the Obscure* was the favourite novel of the artistic director, Jerome Davis, and suggested they undertake a musical dramatization. Realizing the huge scope of the project, they enlisted the help of musicians Jonathan Fitts and Bruce Benedict who, over the course of the next year, produced forty-five songs to fit with Ian Finley's 290-page script. The musical, staged in April and May 2012, was a large play, divided into two parts, with a total running time of four and a half hours, 'needing eighty-three characters, over forty songs and musical interludes'. While they employed Hardy's poems as lyrics where possible, 'in order to propel the action forward, it was necessary to create some lyrics ourselves'. In his programme notes, Davis stresses the contemporary relevance of Hardy's subject matter: '*Jude the Obscure* is a play for this time. It questions the value of institutions in our lives and asks us to move thoughtfully into the future.'

162 Kelly Hamilton, composer. *Dance on a Country Grave. A Romantic Musical based on 'The Return of the Native'* by Thomas Hardy. New York: BMI Musical Theatre, 1998. Original cast recording. CD.

San Francisco composer Kelly Hamilton wrote *Dance on a Country Grave*, a musical based on Hardy's *The Return of the Native*, in the early 1970s. The show had its premiere in Chicago in 1974, where it received critical acclaim and won a Joseph Jefferson Award in that same year. *Dance on a Country Grave* has since played in a variety of regional theatres, most notably in 1977 with Kevin Kline starring as Clym Yeobright opposite Donna Theodore as Eustacia Vye.

## MUSICAL SETTINGS OF HARDY'S POEMS

Hardy grew up in an environment filled with music, which had an inevitable influence on his life and work. His grandfather, father, and uncle were all members of the Stinsford Church band, and the young Thomas Hardy learned to play both the accordion and the fiddle. He developed a deep affection for and, and appreciation of, 'the traditional folk songs that his fellow Dorset folk carried in their hearts'. Music features in many of Hardy's novels, most prominently in *Under the Greenwood Tree*, and his poetry also includes musical subjects and references. Interest in adapting Hardy's poems to music began during his lifetime and no less than twenty-five different composers set his poems to music. After his death, the creation of Hardy-inspired compositions continued and over one hundred composers have produced some three hundred Hardy songs.

**163 [Sheet Music] 'The Sergeant's Song (1803).' Words by Thomas Hardy. Music by Gustave Holst. London: Edwin Ashdown Ltd., n.d.**

In October of 1909, Hardy wrote to Gustav Holst (1874–1934) 'On my return here from the North I find copies of your setting of 3 of my songs ... I think they are very beautiful, (so far as I am a judge) & I hope you will publish them & make some profit by them ... If I can be of any help in doing it, please inform me'.[6] Holst did indeed publish these, along with three other poems in *Six Songs for Baritone and Piano, op. 15*. A stanza of 'The Sergeant's Song' appeared in the first edition of *The Trumpet-Major* in 1880 and it was published in its entirety in *Wessex Poems*.[7]

**164 [Sheet Music] '"Lyonnesse" Song.' The Words by Thomas Hardy. The Music By C. Armstrong Gibbs. London: Boosey & Co., 1921.**

Cecil Armstrong Gibbs (1899–1960) set poems by more than fifty different authors to music, including thirty-eight by his close friend, Walter De La Mare. Gibbs produced two settings of Hardy's poem 'When I set out for Lyonnesse', one of which is shown here. This poem, which recalls Hardy's journey to St. Juliot, where he first met Emma, was published in *Satires of Circumstance* (1914).

**165 [Sheet Music] 'The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall.' Overture specially arranged in piano score. Play by Thomas Hardy. Published by Macmillan & Co. Set as a music drama by Rutland Boughton. London: Joseph Williams Limited, 1926.**

In 1923 Rutland Boughton (1878–1960) contacted Hardy about composing and staging an operatic adaptation of his recently published *The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall*. While Boughton is remembered today as a composer of opera and choral music, in 1923 his reputation rested on his association with the very successful Glastonbury Festival, which he had founded in 1914. Hardy responded positively to Boughton's request to make 'a music-drama of the Queen of Cornwall,' adding 'I know the Queen will be in good hands with you'.[8] Boughton made some deletions from Hardy's work and also secured Hardy's permission to include additional poems that would lessen the 'unrelieved grimness of the tragedy'. The opera debuted at the Festival on 21 August 1925 and Hardy attended a performance on the twenty-eighth.

**166 [Sheet Music] 'Winter Words.' Lyrics and Ballads of Thomas Hardy. Set to Music by Benjamin Britten. London: Boosey & Hawkes, 1954.**

*Winter Words* composed by Benjamin Britten (1913–1976), takes its title from Hardy's final book of verse published in 1928. It is a song cycle for high voice and piano based on eight poems by Hardy taken from *Winter Words*, *Moments of Vision*, *Time's Laughingstock*, *Satires of Circumstance* and *Late Lyrics and Earlier*. First performed at the Leeds Festival in 1953, *Winter Words* has been described as 'the finest set of songs he has yet written; astonishingly original; compact and masterly in form and filled with musical ideas'.[9]

**167 Galt MacDermot (1928- ). *The Thomas Hardy Songs*. Nashville, Tennessee: Wildwood Studio, circa 1996. CD.**

This compact disk features twenty-six Hardy poems set to music by Canadian musician Galt MacDermot and performed by MacDermot and the New Pulse Jazz Band at Carnegie Hall on 7 December 1996. Among the poems set to song are: 'The Dark Eyed Gentleman,' 'The Voice,' 'The Two Wives,' and 'Bereft'.

## FILM

Interest in adapting Hardy's work to film began during his lifetime, as he received several proposals from film companies interested in acquiring the rights to his novels. Hardy clearly recognized that there were potential benefits in allowing his works to be adapted to film. In a letter to Sir Frederick Macmillan in 1911 regarding the film rights to *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, Hardy wrote 'I should imagine that an exhibition of successive scenes from *Tess* ... could do no harm to the book, & might possibly advertise it among a new class'.[10] Hardy's enthusiasm was tempered by his natural instinct to protect the reputation of his work, which he felt could be adversely affected by any film that deviated widely from the novels themselves. Not all the propositions resulted in films, and of the four that were made, *Tess* (1913 and 1924), *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1915), and *The Mayor of Casterbridge* (1921), none survive, save for the odd still.

The film of *Far from the Madding Crowd* (1967), directed by John Schlesinger; starring Julie Christie, Alan Bates, Terence Stamp, and Peter Finch, was the first major film adaptation in the forty years since Hardy's death. Several other film adaptations have followed, including Roman Polanski's *Tess* (1979), Michael Winterbottom's *Jude* (1996), and the Thomas Vinterberg version of *Far from the Madding Crowd* (2015). While the individual films exhibit varying degrees of fidelity to the plots and settings of Hardy's novels, they do speak to the enduring relevance and popularity of Hardy's work.

**168 [Film Poster] *Fjernt Fra Verdens Vrimmel. (Far from the Madding Crowd)*. Manuskript: Frederich Raphael. Efter en novelle af Thomas Hardy. Iscenesat af John Schlesinger. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer praesenterer: En Joseph Janni Produktion.**

Poster for the Danish release of the Schlesinger film starring Julie Christie, Alan Bates, Peter Finch, and Terence Stamp.

169 [Publicity Photos] Four 8 ½ × 11 in. black & white publicity photos with programme for Schlesinger film of *Far from the Madding Crowd*. Depicting scenes from the film: Bathesheba with sheep; Troy on horse; Troy with sword; Bathsheba & Gabriel.

170 [Film Poster] *Far from the Madding Crowd.* Based on the Classic Love Story by Thomas Hardy. Directed by Thomas Vinterberg. Starring Carey Mulligan, Matthias Schoenaerts, Michael Sheen, Tom Sturridge. Fox Searchlight Pictures, 2015.

171 [Film Poster] *Far from the Madding Crowd.* Based on the Classic Love Story by Thomas Hardy. Directed by Thomas Vinterberg. Starring Carey Mulligan, Matthias Schoenaerts, Michael Sheen, Tom Sturridge. Fox Searchlight Pictures, 2015. 'In Theatres Spring 2015.'

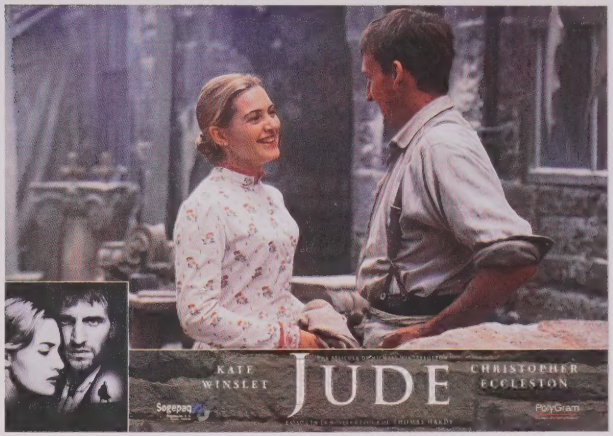
172 [Lobby Cards] *Tess*. Un Film De Roman Polanski. Filmayer Renn Productions Paris/ Burril Productions Londres. Six lobby cards (of twelve) for the French release of the Polanski adaptation of *Tess*, 1979.

173 [Lobby Cards] *Jude: Una Pelicula* de Michael Winterbottom. Basada en la novella clasica de Thomas Hardy, 1996. Four lobby cards (of ten) for the Italian release of the Michael Winterbottom's film adaptation of *Jude*.

## TELEVISION

The BBC has adapted all of the major Hardy novels and short stories for television and film. These productions have been widely distributed and very positively received by reviewers, attesting to the enduring power and appeal of Hardy's fiction.

174 *Under the Greenwood Tree*. Adapted from the novel by Thomas Hardy. BBC, 2005.




This feature-length production of *Under the Greenwood Tree* was made for television by Ecosse Films Production (London) in association with WGBH (Boston) and BBC America. It was produced as a Christmas movie and aired on 26 December, 2005 (United Kingdom) and on PBS's Masterpiece Theatre on 23 April 2006.

175 Thomas Hardy's *Wessex Tales*. BBC production, 1973.

This 1973 television adaptation by the BBC features Claire Bloom, Jane Asher, Ben Kingsley, and John Hurt.

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# NOTES

*Abbreviations for published sources frequently cited:*

AN Hardy, Thomas. *The Architectural Notebook of Thomas Hardy.*

BR Millgate, Michael. *Thomas Hardy: Biography Revisited.*

CL Hardy, Thomas. *The Collected Letters of Thomas Hardy.*

CN Millgate, Michael. *Thomas Hardy. His Career as a Novelist.*

COX Cox, R.G. (editor). *Thomas Hardy. The Critical Heritage.*

DAL Dalziel, Pamela. *Thomas Hardy: The Excluded and Collaborative Stories.*

GIL Gilmartin, Sophie. 'Hardy's Short Stories.' *The Ashgate Companion to Thomas Hardy.*

LW Hardy, Thomas. *The Life and Work of Thomas Hardy.*

ORCH Page, Norman. *Oxford Reader's Companion to Hardy.*

PN *The Personal Notebook of Thomas Hardy.* Edited by Richard Taylor.

Purdy Purdy, Richard Little. *Thomas Hardy. A Bibliographical Study.*

PV Hardy, Thomas. *Thomas Hardy's Public Voice.*

RAY Ray, Martin. *Thomas Hardy Remembered.*

SR Hardy, Emma. *Some Recollections.*

TA Millgate, Michael. *Testamentary Acts*

WL Hardy, Emma and Florence Hardy. *Letters of Emma and Florence Hardy.*

## Early Life

1 BR, 12.
2 BR, 28.
3 BR, 29.
4 BR, 29.
5 CN, 55.
6 CN, 89.
7 LW, 18.
8 LW, 19.
9 BR, 15.
10 BR, 19.
11 ORCH, 358.
12 PN, 6-7.
13 ORCH, 164.
14 AN, 28.
15 BR, 253.
16 Purdy, 136.
17 BR, 79.
18 LW, 49.
19 LW, 50.
20 Purdy, 177.
21 LW, 52.
22 LW, 54.
23 LW, 62-3.
24 BR, 105.
25 BR, 106.
26 LW, 66.
27 LW, 67.
28 LW, 256; Taylor, 76.
29 LW, 66.
30 Purdy, 4.
31 BR, 108.
32 BR, 121.
33 CL, 1:11.
34 ORCH, 84.
35 EL, 111.
6 BR, 124.

## Career as a Novelist.

1 CL, 1:11.
2 CL, 1:11.
3 ORCH, 451.
4 Purdy, 332.
5 CL, 1:14.
6 CN, 66.
7 LW, 73-74.
8 CN, 63.
9 Purdy, 12.
10 Purdy, 17.
11 Purdy, 13.
12 CL, 1:30.
13 Purdy, 220.
14 CL, 1:28.
15 LW, 105.
16 CL, 1: 52; Purdy, 25.
17 CL 1:59.
18 BR, 184.
19 PV, 264.
20 CL, 1:47.
21 BR, 184.
22 CL, 1:146.
23 PN, 115-86.
24 COX, 77.
25 Purdy, 35.
26 CL, 8:171.
27 LW, 177.
28 COX, 135-6.
29 Purdy, 53.
30 LW, 185.
31 CN, 283.
32 Purdy, 48.
33 CL, 1:270.

34 See INTH, III.
35 Purdy, 73-4.
36 COX, 219.
37 LW, 259.
38 CL, 2:94.
39 Purdy, 91.
40 COX, 257.
41 LW, 294.
42 LW, 309.
43 PV, 102.
44 CL, 3:259-60.

## 'Wives All.'

1 BR, 439.
2 SR, 1.
3 ORCH, 153.
4 SR, 57.
5 ORCH, 153.
6 LW, 128.
7 BR, 327.
8 WL, 8.
9 BR, 250.
10 BR, 337.
11 WL, 15.
12 WL, 15.
13 BR, 362.
14 WL, 52.
15 BR, 440.
16 BR, 446.
17 CL, 4:243.
18 BR, 408.
19 BR, 408.
20 CL, 3:179.
21 BR, 410.
22 CL, 3:193.
23 BR, 416.
24 WL, 59.
25 CL, 3:249.
26 CL, 3:253.
27 BR, 424.
28 CL, 4:43.
29 BR, 427.
30 BR, 430.
31 BR, 430.
32 WL, 66.
34 WL, 68. Hawley Harvey Crippen (1862–1910) American born medical doctor, executed in 1910 for the murder of his wife. The trial, which took place at the Old Bailey, London, received widespread news coverage.
34 Bernard Jones, *Fifty-Seven Poems of Thomas Hardy*. (Dorset: Meldon House, 2002), vi.
35 BR, 453.
36 CL, 5:13.
37 CL, 5:17.
38 BR, 456.
39 BR, 457.
40 WL, 275.

## 'Changed Man' –Poetry & Short Stories.

1 LW, 302.
2 LW, 309.
3 ORCH, 471.
4 Purdy, 106.
5 Purdy, 105.
6 ORCH, 468.
7 CL, 2:201.
8 J.H. Bullen. 'Hardy and the Visual Arts' in *A Companion to Thomas Hardy*, (Chicester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 213.
9 Purdy 101.
10 Pamela Dalziel. 'Drawings and Withdrawings: The Vicissitudes of Thomas Hardy's *Wessex Poems*'. *Studies in Bibliography*. 50, (1997), 393.
11 LW, 320.
12 CL, 6:65.
13 CL, 8:8.
14 ORCH, 328.
15 CL, 2:232.
16 ORCH, 322.
17 CL, 8:106.
18 CL, 8:107.
19 Purdy, 170.
20 Purdy, 160–172.
21 ORCH, 319.
22 William Morgan. 'Life Story...' *Thomas Hardy Journal*, 24, 62.
23 ORCH, 319.
24 C. Day Lewis, 'The Lyrical Poetry' reprinted in Thomas Hardy, *Poems* (London: Macmillan, 1979), 157.
25 BR, 461.
26 CL, 5:45.
27 Hynes, 26.
28 Purdy, 158.
29 Purdy, 207.
30 ORCH, 276.
31 CL, 5:121.
32 CL, 5:123.
33 CL, 5:187.
34 ORCH, 132.
35 CN, 263.
36 Purdy, 81.
37 CL, 2:57.
38 GIL, 331.
39 GIL, 345.
40 DAL, 260.
41 LW, 270.
42 CL, 2:11.
43 CL, 2:26.
44 DAL, 264.
45 CL, 2:34.
46 CL, 2:39.
47 DAL, 285.
48 Helen Upton. 'Hamo Thornycroft and Thomas Hardy'. *Thomas Hardy Journal*, 13:2 (May 1997), 64.
49 CL, 5:236.
50 CL, 5:242.
51 BR, 484.
52 BR, 499.
53 CL, 1:284.

## 'Hardy On Stage.'

1 See BR 210-212.
2 CL, 3:356.

3 LW, 127.
4 PV, 371.
5 Purdy, 230.
6 LW, 462–3.

## Max Gate.

1 BR, 220.
2 BR, 224.
3 BR, 228.
4 LW, 508.
5 BR, 239.
6 CL, 1:152.
7 WL, 158.
8 CL, 2:233.
9 CL, 2:296.
10 LW, 105.
11 CL, 4:212.
12 Holland, 185.
13 BR, 297.
14 Ray, 1.
15 CL, 2:44.
16 CL, 1:287.
17 CL, 2:104.
18 Ray, 35.
19 BR, 338.
20 Tomalin, 234.
21 BR, 244.
22 ORCH, 140.
23 CL, 2:93.
24 CL, 4:239.
25 WL, 171.
26 BR, 243.
27 TA, 136.
28 BR, 243.
29 Millgate. 'The Max Gate Library.' *Spacious Visions.* , p. 139.
30 Ibid. 139–40.
31 For all references to Hardy's library see http://hardy.library.utoronto.ca/hardycataz.pdf.
32 LW, 51.
33 PV, 155.
34 BR, 378.
35 Holder, 277.
36 Holder, 291.
37 Salmon, 3.
38 CL, 6:373.

## Later Years

1 LW, xi.
2 ORCH, 20.
3 TA, 124.
4 ORCH, 20.
5 CL, 5:324.
6 BR, 478.
7 BR, 478.
8 WL, 240.
9 BR, 538.
10 TA, 163.
11 Purdy, 265.
12 BR, 528.
13 Purdy, 261.
14 ORCH, 473.
15 BR, 403.
16 CL, 3:161.
17 CL, 4:259.
18 BR, 454.
19 CL, 1:169. 20 CL, 1: 169.
21 CL, 5:32.
22 CL, 6:98.
23 CL, 4:243.
24 CL, 4:243–4.
25 TA, 128.
26 CL, 7:44.
27 Purdy, 178.
28 CL, 4:37.
29 CL, 4:109.
30 CL, 4:157.
31 BR, 477.
32 CL, 6:139.
33 CL, 1:95.
34 PV, 240.
35 PV, 242.
36 PV, 251.
37 Purdy, 311.
38 CL, 2:131.
39 CL, 3:17.
40 CL, 3:182.
41 TA, 143.
42 TA, 141.
43 BR, 534.
44 TA, 146.
45 Ibid.
46 TA, 150.
47 Holland, 252.
48 ORCH, 22.
49 ORCH, 23.

## 'Wessexmania and Mr. Hardy.'

1 Gattrell, 118.
2 CL, 4:162.
3 PV, 221.
4 CL, 3:194.
5 CL, 3:195.
6 CL, 3:151.
7 CL, 2:131.
8 CL, 2:302.
9 PV, 174.
10 CL, 8:229.
11 BR, 489.

## After Hardy

1 Rogerson, 441.
2 Cox, 12–13.
3 Purdy, 8.
4 CL, 2:110.
5 CL, 2:152.
6 CL, 4:52.
7 Purdy, 98.
8 CL, 6:225.
9 *The Grammaphone*, 34 (1956), 40.
10 CL, 4:140.

Map of the
WESSEX
of the
Novels and Poems
Scale of Miles
Fictitious names as
Exonbury
Real names as
Portsmouth
Septentrio
Occidens
Oriens
Meridies
Cliff without name
Targan Bay
Endelstow
Dundagel
Castle Boterel
Bardwick Sands
St Launce's
Plymouth
Lands End
Bristol Channel
Bristol
Bath
Christminster
Thames
NORTH
WESSEX
Alfredston
The Brown House
Cresscombe
Marygreen
River Thames
Castle Royal
Aldbrickham
Gaymead
Kennetbridge
Marlbury Downs
MID
WESSEX
Inkpen Beacon
Stoke Barehills
Quartershot
Icenway House
Weydon Priors
Stonehenge
The Great Plain
Falls Park
Mendip Hills
Prospect Point
Bristol
Clevancy Castle
Cliff Martin
Exon Moor
Dunkery Beacon
Downstaple
Quantock Hills
Wills Neck
Holden Hill
Glaston
Fountall
Stour Head
Toneborough
Deane
River
Toneborough
Ivell
Melchester
Wintoncester
Fernel Hall
Deanesleigh Park
WESSEX
UPPER
Southampton
Portsmouth
Solentsea
The Great Bramshurst Forest
The Chase
Shourcastle
Sherton Abbas
Vale of Blackmore
Shottsford Forum
Bulbarrow
Hintocombe Ash
Warborne
Emminster
Pilsdon
Exonbury
River Axe
River Otter
LOWER
WESSEX
SOUTH
WESSEX
Heath
Casterbridge
Deadmans Bay
Port Bredy
Sandbourne
The Island
Budmouth
Isle of Slingers
Portvania Castle
Lightship
The Race
The Channel
Emery Walker sc.

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